PROPERTY AND RITUAL RELATIONSHIPS ON A GREEK ISLAND

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by

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You walk into the room
With your pencil in your hand
You see somebody naked
And you say "Who is that man?"
You try so hard but you don't understand
Just what you will say when you get home
Because something is happening here
And you don't know what it is
Do you, Mr. Jones?

Robert Zimmerman

PREFACE

This thesis is based on 16 months' fieldwork on the island of Anaphi in the south-eastern Cyclades, and among the émigré Anaphiot community in Athens. Two full-scale ethnographies had already been produced on Greece; Campbell's (1964) on the Sarakatsani of north-western Greece, and Friedl's (1962) on the village of Vasilika in Boeotia. My aim in choosing Anaphi was to complement these studies by examining an island community in the hope of promoting comparison and, ultimately, the generation of hypotheses for future fieldwork in Greece.

The chapters of the thesis give an account of the social organization of island life. Anaphi has many links with the social and economic system of Athens - Piraeus. There is regular contact between island and mainland when island men go to the city for summer seasonal work, and when émigrés come to the island for summer holidays and for the major island festival. The gap in the farming year after harvest in June provides an opportunity for three months' seasonal work in the city, and the difficulty in accumulating enough subsistence from farming for the whole year's needs gives the incentive for seasonal migration, yielding cash wages to buy subsistence goods and other necessities. Islanders who are shepherds are not able to

leave the island but they receive a cash income from the sale of sheep and goats twice yearly to visiting meat-merchants.

Seasonal migration and the economic bases of island life are also connected to the various stages of the domestic cycle. A man is a workman when he marries and when, on his father's death, he receives his share of the natal family estate he stops working for others, no longer goes to the city as a seasonal migrant but works his own lands, and later employs others to work for him.

All these factors (economic position, stage in the domestic cycle and contacts with émigrés and with non-Anaphiots in Athens) have an effect on a man's influence and position within formal and informal political activity on the island.

Underlying what might be called the pragmatic aspects of island life - land, farming, seasonal migration - are ideas about being an islander, a Greek, and a civilized human being, which are phrased in religious terms and define the word Christianos. It is vital for an islander to be a Christianos, and this is attained through baptism which makes an individual a Christian, a Greek, and an islander. In baptism a child is given a name which links him or her to previous generations in his parents' families. Names give rights to property, houses for girls, land for boys,

acquisition of which involves obligations to the souls of the dead. Usually these rights and duties apply to children and parents, but they also obtain between god-children and godparents. The unmarried or childless who stand as godparents are assured of care in old age, and immortality after death; the godchild is assured of property which his own parents cannot afford to give him.

Naming of children, sharing out of the family estate over the years as dowry and inheritance, and the performance of funeral and memorial ceremonies for the souls of the dead are patterns of behaviour which express major principles of social structure on Anaphi. These principles form the theoretical basis of the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

AIMS, METHODS AND MATERIALS. OUTLINE OF THESIS. A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANAPHI.

Ancient Greece, in addition to being a source of material for classicists, philosophers, archaeologists and students of the arts, has also been a rich source for social scientists. Political theorists, historians, students of religion and anthropologists have availed themselves of the exceptional documentary and archaeological evidence. Modern Greece, on the other hand, has until recently been largely ignored. Interest has increased because traditional areas of anthropological investigation became closed with the decline of colonialism. A new definition of social anthropology has developed in which it is seen as a discipline characterized by certain techniques of investigation rather than as a study of tribal and pre-literate communities. Interest in Greece has increased partly as a result of the growth of tourism, and partly in consequence of political events, together with a new appreciation of modern Greek cultural developments, particularly in literature, poetry and music. The revived interest in Greece and in the whole Mediterranean area as a field of study for the social scientist is shown in the publication of monographs and

studies which provide detailed description and analyses of particular communities, studies which are of interest in themselves but also relevant to the attempts to find the bases for a comparative study of Mediterranean society.

Intensive study of local areas in Modern Greece, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, is important in providing a detailed ethnography of an area with a history and language of its own, and in recording and analysing the processes of social change taking place.

When I began my fieldwork in 1966 there were only two published accounts of studies carried out in Greece. These were Friedl's *Vasilika, A Village in Modern Greece*, 1962, a short ethnography of a village in mainland Greece where fairly prosperous farmers grew cotton and tobacco for sale and export; and Campbell's *Honour, Family, and Patronage*, 1964, an account of the Sarakatsani shepherds in N.W. Greece. In addition there were two collections of essays based on fieldwork in the Mediterranean: *Mediterranean Countrymen*, 1963, and *Honour and Shame*, 1965; and articles on particular problems or detailed aspects of ethnography in various journals.

It was in this period, the beginnings of Mediterranean studies, that I went to the small Greek island of Anaphi in the Aegean Sea. I chose an island community for comparison with the extant studies of mainland communities and for the intrinsic interest of filling an ethnographic gap, for at

that time (1966-67) there were no studies of Greek or Mediterranean islands.

In a preliminary field-trip in the summer of 1965, I visited nine islands in the Cyclades and Dodecanese; Serifos, Ios, Sikinos and Kimolos (in the Cyclades) and Kos, Nisyros, Leros, Patmos and Kalymnos (in the Dodecanese). I was able to come to a clearer understanding of the factors which would affect my choice of fieldwork base. The size and density of population of an island was likely to bear on the intensity and type of my contact and interaction with sections of the local community, and consequently with the whole island community. On certain islands such as Ios and Kalymnos some of the population derived income from activities such as fishing and sponge diving, which would have been difficult or impractical for me as a single woman to investigate. The factor of tourism seemed to me to demand a separate study. I decided against any island in the Dodecanese because of the complications to the study of contact with Turkey. I am aware of the criticisms levelled at those who choose a small rural community as their unit of study. Their critics ask why they seem to be turning away from the dynamic and changing situation, the growth of cities and industries and the consequent and related changes in values, attitudes,

activity and behaviour. In answer one must stress that for Greece, if not for many Mediterranean societies, one must understand the rural community, its working, its values, and its reciprocal relations with the wider society, before one can begin to understand the urban and other aspects of the wider society.

The studies centred on Greek rural communities have all shown that an understanding of the urban scene involves a recognition of the strong part which attachment to rural values and, most important, the attitude to land as the ultimate and basic security, still plays in government, bureaucracy and trade. The labour force of the towns, particularly of Athens and Piraeus, has been increased by rural migrants who have established themselves in various areas and suburbs of the towns. Subsequently, seasonal migrants and permanent migrants, whom I call émigrés, from the same village or area come and settle, building up recognized migrant communities, such as Maniatika, the Maniot community of Piraeus, and Anaphiotika, the original Anaphiot migrant settlement on the northern slopes of the Acropolis. The interplay of traditional values and urban influences is a vital part of any study undertaken in Greece.

There have been studies of the effects of

f.p.5

Central Greece
Athens
Piraeus
Peloponnese
Turkey
Syros
Ios
Thira
Anaphi
Boundary of the Cyclades
CRETE
0 25 50 100 miles

Map of Greece showing the Cyclades and the position of Anaphi

industrialization in Greece (Lambiri, 1963); of rural depopulation (Lineton, in progress), and of migration (Moustaka, 1964). A reading of these studies emphasizes the necessity of combining long-term participant observation studies with questionnaires and surveys. It is only through the insight gained from intensive studies that meaningful categories on which to base the collection of quantifiable data become apparent.

Aims.

Thus, for a series of reasons, I decided on an island with a population of less than 600, with no intensive contact with or orientation towards tourists, and with no special features essential for study which could not be dealt with by a young unmarried woman, working single-handed. By a process of elimination I chose Anaphi; (see map facing p.5). My aim was to make a study of the island, describing and interpreting the internal organization of island life as an interplay of traditional elements and processes of change. I wanted to discover the links between Anaphi and its nearest island neighbour, Thira (Santorini). Thira is one level higher in the administrative network and acts as a channel of communication to and from Anaphi, relaying directives from government departments and official bodies to their representatives on Anaphi. It was clear that I must examine the links with the mainland

in terms of the formal and informal use of the administrative structure, and in terms of permanent and seasonal migration. I needed to find out what part these links outside the island played in the organization of the life of the resident community. I was also interested to know what changes at the local level followed on the introduction of new and improved techniques in traditional activities and on the opportunities for new kinds of employment or use of new skills on the island and in Athens.

Methods and Materials.

I spent from May 1966 to August 1967 on Anaphi, with occasional trips to Athens during which I made contact with members of the émigré community. On arrival in Greece I had an elementary knowledge of the language. This gave me a grounding from which to learn the particular accent, tone, dialect words, and expressions characteristic of Anaphi, which are recognized as "country" Greek, *choriatika*, particularly in the main towns.

My first and major contact on the island was with women in their homes, at the shops, in evening gossip groups and at church services. A great deal of the data presented in this thesis was collected from female informants and has this built-in bias. Although island women rarely go into the cafés, there was a precedent for me to do so as women summer visitors from the émigré community patronized the

cafés during the early evening. I was accepted as an observer and general conversationalist in the cafés rather than as a participant able to hold private conversations. Entry into strictly male spheres of activity, particularly politics and administration, was much more difficult. Details about the work of the island co-operative and the village council did not often come to my attention for I relied as much as the women themselves on their networks of gossip and information which rarely included advance notice of strictly male gatherings. I learnt of decisions taken at meetings of these bodies when the implications for island families or émigré relatives were discussed by women. I did, of course, overhear remarks and discussions about such matters in the cafés and en route to the fields, but it was almost impossible for me to get further details. It was rare to get the same detail and confidence in conversation with men as I did with women, since nearly all my conversations with men took place with other listeners present, in the cafés, in the fields, or in their homes. Information is a valued good for islanders vis-à-vis each other, and informants were very wary of giving away possibly useful details of their lives to other islanders outside the nuclear family, who were listening to their conversations with me. As fieldwork progressed and I was

accepted in a more neutral and even neuter role, I collected more information from island men. Wariness and suspicion following the military coup in April 1967 impeded more intensive study of the plans and activities of the village council and all other "political" matters. My investigation among members of the émigré community in Athens was also affected by difficulties resulting from the coup.

The material in this thesis is based on:

(A) My own material:

1. My fieldwork notebooks and diary.

2. Fifty structured interviews with household heads and/or their wives.

3. An account of land-holdings on the island, dictated to me by the school teacher who indicated whether land was held by right of inheritance, dowry, purchase or rent, or worked half shares for an owner.

4. Tape-recordings of music, songs, church services and interviews.

5. Photographs.

6. A village plan, the main outlines of which were measured and mapped by the Society for Exploration, the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1962, to which I added details and specific comments.

7. A notebook of conversations with émigrés in their homes, at meetings of the Society, and at cafés and restaurants in the suburbs of Athens patronized by émigrés.

(B) Unpublished documents and records:

1. A copy of entries in the village register which groups the voting population of the island, resident and émigré, in nuclear family units, giving the dates of birth and death of members of the family and cross references to the natal family of the wife and marital family of married children. The register also gives the occupation of the household head, and assigns an economic status to each family.

2. The record books of the agent of the steamer company whose boat called once a week. These records give the names of passengers and the class they travelled, on each weekly steamer leaving the island from 1961-66 inclusive.

3. The register of members of the Society of Émigré Anaphiots, shown to me by the President of the Society.

(C) Published sources:

1. Data from the publications of the Greek Statistical Office, Athens.

2. Documentary evidence for Anaphi and the Cycladic Islands from the University of Athens Library and from the British Museum.

Outline of the Thesis

In Chapter One I set the scene by describing the island of Anaphi, the layout of its one village, and the composition of the population. This description emphasizes the links between the island and the mainland of Greece, particularly with the city and suburbs of Athens-Piraeus.

Chapter Two looks at the history of seasonal and permanent migration from Anaphi in terms of the development of the Greek national economy. I discuss the many different sorts of links between the island community, the seasonal migrants and the permanent émigré community in Athens.

Chapter Three continues this discussion by showing how the island is linked to the national administration through the formal organizational hierarchy. As I have already indicated, getting information about politics and administration was one of the most difficult parts of my fieldwork, so that my description of the composition and activities of the village council of Anaphi is fairly brief. I also discuss informal political activity in the cafés. I then go on to discuss the islanders' views of social and economic differences between themselves as a way in which I can consider the problem of connections between power, influence and economic and social status.

Chapter Four describes how economic status is linked

to stages in the domestic cycle. The economic cycle of farming, shepherding, and fishing activities within the island is described in detail.

Religious beliefs and activities are described in Chapter Five, which includes accounts of rituals marking stages of the individual life-cycle and the ceremonies of the Church's year.

I have organized this data so as to show the pattern of ideas and values forming the system by which islanders organize their life. The three major aspects of this system are the domestic cycle, the economic basis of island life, and activities based on religious ideas which relate to rights and obligations connected with property. The relationship of these three major aspects is set out in Chapters Six and Seven, in which domestic and kinship relationships are discussed in detail. Chapter Eight deals with <u>koumbaros</u> relationships, based on religious obligations and involving coöperation and, in some cases, rights to property. In these final chapters I try to draw together my data in terms of the main theme of property rights and ritual obligations by which the generations are linked, to which the domestic cycle is geared, and through which the individual life-cycle is seen in the context of family and island life.

The History of Anaphi

I want now to deal with some published sources relevant to the history of Anaphi. Mediterranean anthropologists and sociologists, unlike those whose fieldwork is among preliterate peoples, have available to them historical and contemporary written material which provides information which might otherwise be extremely difficult or impossible to collect. Such information is in varying degrees useful in supporting data gathered by participant observation.

The historical sources which refer to Anaphi provide support for as well as contradiction of remarks by modern informants and of arguments advanced by various scholars. For example, some C19 sources mention that mulberry trees grew on Anaphi and some informants remembered watching silk-refining processes; these two pieces of evidence suggest that at one time silk was made and probably exported from the island. Historical evidence is also useful in contradicting the assumptions of folklorists, linguists and others that the Aegean Islands were comparatively undisturbed by the incursions of the Venetians and the Turks, retaining customs of long antiquity linking the islanders to the Ancient Greeks. Lawson's "Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion" (1909 rep.1964) tends to make this assumption.

Cornaro (1537) reports that a Turkish fleet took 600 prisoners from Anaphi and left it deserted. Crusius' Turcograecia (1577), relying on the report of two refugees from Thira, states that Anaphi had been reinhabited and rough fortifications built. Hasluck (1910) points out that such evidence of depopulation, desertion, and repopulation, renders invalid any examination of linguistic data, folktales, or any other data from island or mainland Greece based on the assumption of unbroken continuity.

The earliest source which mentions Anaphi is Apollonius Rhodius' epic poem Argonautica (c. 283 B.C.) which tells [ll. 1717-30] how Jason and the Argonauts, caught in a storm, took refuge on an island which they named Revelation (Anaphi) because Apollo had revealed it to them. Another early source is Strabo's Geography X,5 (c. 63 B.C.). While involved in excavations on Thira, Hiller von Gaertringen (1899) made a survey of the ruins of the temple of Apollo Aegletes and of the ancient town of Anaphi, and his account mentions that under the Romans Anaphi was used as a place of exile. Chatzopoulou (1927) also deals with such material.

Apart from this early material, the sources relevant to Anaphi date from the early C13. Setton, in the Cambridge Medieval History (Setton, 1966) describes how,

in 1204, after the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, the Cyclades, then called "the islands of the Archipelago", were taken over by young Venetians from Constantinople, led by Marco Sanudo. Sanudo rewarded his followers with islands which they held as sub-fiefs under his own duchy of Naxos, itself a fief of the Venetian Republic. Anaphi was granted to Leonardo Foscolo, lost to pirates in 1269 and recovered in 1307 by the Gozzadini, a Bolognese family settled in Greece. At this time petty wars between rulers in the Archipelago and Turkish pirate raids seriously affected the islands. Miller (1908) comments on conditions around 1354, "the Cyclades were no longer desirable acquisitions, for there was a complete dearth of labour to cultivate the land . . . the serfs had fled from Anaphi, Amorgos and Stampalia to Crete because they did not think it worthwhile to sow in order that the Turks and Catalans might reap."

A Turkish raid in 1416 further devastated and depopulated the Cyclades. A Florentine priest, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, spent four years travelling amont the islands and wrote an account (1422) of the poverty, starvation and depopulation he saw. His Latin text provided material for many C15 and C16 Isolarii, seamen's guides, some of which add later comments on particular islands. Buondelmonti's

section on Anaphi is concerned only with the derivation of its name and the abandonment of the site of the ancient city after many pirate raids for a more inaccessible spot, the present village. It is by no means certain that this change of site occurred during or just before Buondelmonti's journeys; it is more likely that the change had taken place much earlier. From later sources comes the information that the ruler of Anaphi at this time, William Crispo, had built a castle above the village which must have given the islanders some protection against raiding. Several of the island rulers tried to repopulate their lands; Marco Crispo, William's brother, colonised Ios with Albanians from the Morea; it is perhaps likely that William did the same for Anaphi. By 1426 Venice said she could give the Duchy no help against the Turks and advised that terms be made to save the islands without actually victualling or providing harbour for Turkish ships. The Duke of Naxos, however, agreed to pay tribute to the Turks and to open his ports to their ships. In 1453 Constantinople fell to the Turks, and Turkish raids in the Cyclades increased. A strong and capable ruler was needed when the Duke died, leaving as heir a posthumous son who died aged seven. Miller tells us that "William Crispo, though he was old, was ambitious; he had twice acted as regent of the Duchy and was in no mood

to end his days in the castle which he had built on the island of Anaphi, the most remote of the Cyclades." He came to terms with his nephew and co-regent Francesco: he, William, should be duke for his lifetime and, as his only legitimate child was his daughter Florence, Francesco should inherit the Duchy on Williams's death and Anaphi should pass to Florence. Venice agreed to this succession and William placed his naval resources at her disposal.

In 1537 a Turkish fleet seized the Cyclades and 600 prisoners were taken from Anaphi, leaving the island deserted (Cornaro, 1537). The Duke was dispossessed of his holdings and moved to Venice where he still held the title, paying almost half the annual revenue to the Turks. The island lords attempted in vain to regain their possessions by negotiations with the Porte. The Pisani, to whom Anaphi passed on Florence Crispo's death, "pleaded for the restitution of little Namfio (Anaphi) but the Venetian bailie at Constantinople replied that all the inhabitants had been removed and the islet had been left a mere barren rock," (Miller 1908, pp. 624-5).

A report of 1563 says that of the sixteen islands of the Duchy only five were still inhabited; the others, including Anaphi, were deserted. As Hasluck (1910) comments "it is clear that in islands paying tribute as

well as local dues and without garrisons or militia organizations, taxation and piracy made life all but impossible."

Evidence of repopulation comes from forty years later. Martin Kraus, Professor of Classics at Tübingen, interviewed two refugees from Thira, incorporating their information in his book Turcograecia, 1577. In this he says that minor islands, including Anaphi, were at that time inhabited and roughly fortified.

In 1579 the islands were annexed to the Turkish Empire; the inhabitants were assured of freedom to practice their Christian religion, raiding was limited although local piracy doubtless continued, and taxation was limited to tribute collected by local Greek administrators and delivered to the Capitan-Pasha on Paros. These local leaders, called by some sources "consuls" or "magistrates", are said to have been chosen by the inhabitants of each island to carry out judicial and financial duties and to act as intermediaries with the higher levels of the Turkish administration. The total levy demanded from each island was shared out among the islanders in poll-tax and percentage of products. On the smaller islands Turkish influence was indirect and almost negligible (Pègues, 1842). The Turks

also repopulated deserted islands with Albanian captives from earlier campaigns.

Conditions during C16 and C17 are mentioned in Isolarii, in accounts of trading and diplomatic journeys to Constantinople, and in descriptions of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. In the later C17 travellers to Greece included Catholic missionaries attempting to convert the Greeks from Orthodoxy, and diplomats trying to interest them in a rising against the Turks whose forces reached into Europe. These and other accounts contributed to the growth of philhellenism on a basis of political and commercial interest combined with a revival of interest in ancient Greek culture (Malakis, 1925; Morphopoulos, 1947).

Bernard Randolph (1687) gives a description of Anaphi after over a century of Turkish rule. Anaphi and its neighbours, he writes, "are good islands but they are continually plagued with privateers, so as all that their land doth produce will but serve to pay their taxes; if any can be said to have the preheminence it is St. Erini (Santorini, now Thira) here being several merchants." Saulger (1698) mentions "il y a peu d'habitans. Ils ont meme bien de peine a vivre et a paier le tribut au Grand Seigneur."

In 1700 Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, botanist to the French court, visited the Cyclades during his journey around

the Levant to collect specimens. His book, Voyage au Levant (Pitton de Tournefort 1717), gives the mythological and Frankish history of Anaphi and states that the islanders grew barley and made wine for their own consumption and exported onions, skins and honey. Anaphi was at this time, he says, governed by two "consuls" and paid 500 crowns tribute to the Turks. He visited the ruins of the temple to Apollo at the foot of Mount Kalamos, which he then climbed to search for specimens. He describes it as "une des plus effroyables roches qui soit au monde."

Island conditions during the C17 and C18 are said by some sources to have differed from those during Venetian rule. The Naval Intelligence Division's Handbook of Greece / Vol. 3, (1919 and 1945 editions) states that in C17 "land passed mostly to the peasants." Presumably this means that without feudal land-tenure systems the farmers themselves made decisions about ownership, inheritance, and cultivation. Island commerce was stimulated by the opening up of the Russian Black Sea trade, but piracy still continued until the mid-C19. Russian interest in Greece, based partly on Russian-Turkish animosity and partly on Orthodoxy, gave rise in 1770 to an attempt by a Russian fleet to liberate the Greeks from the Turks. There was an abortive rising in the Peloponnese which was quelled by the Turks, but the

Russians occupied part of the Cyclades for four to five years. Count Pasch von Krienen visited the Russian-occupied islands in 1771. His account of this visit was published in Italian (Pasch von Krienen, 1773) but gives little information relevant to Anaphi.

The period after the Russian occupation was for some islands a period of commercial prosperity, so much so, says Lacroix (1863) that some were loth to support the War of Independence against the Turks. Anaphiots, he says, sent two caiques to join the fight. The Cyclades were incorporated into the Kingdom of Greece in 1832.

The C19 antiquarian and geological works which mention Anaphi (Sonnini, 1801; Fiedler, 1840; Ross, 1840; Bursian, 1842) give little detail on contemporary life, although Bursian (1842) mentions fig, olive and mulberry trees. The report of a Greek mining company (Anon., 1870) implies that the mineral deposits of the island were worth exploiting. Some of my informants remembered their fathers working in tunnels and shafts to extract <u>calamiti</u> and <u>ochra</u>, calamine and ochre, but, they told me, work in the mines stopped in the 1920s. I have no other information about these mines.

James Theodore Bent, an English clergyman, visited the Cyclades with his wife and an Anaphiot interpreter in the winter of 1880-81. He devotes a chapter of his book

(Bent, 1885) to his impressions of Anaphi which he visited in January 1881. "Their windmills grind their corn, their fields produce a sufficiency of grain, their looms make all their materials for their clothes, their hill slopes produce excellent grapes" (p. 94). The only export which Bent mentions is paximathi, twice-baked bread rather like rusk, "what (bread) they cannot eat fresh they dry, and call biscuit . . . a good deal of this hard bread they send out of the island" (p. 93). He does not mention migration from Anaphi but from details he gives in accounts of other islands, it is likely that there was movement to and from Athens, with girls going there to work as servants and young men as labourers.

The earliest definite evidence of migration from Anaphi to Athens comes from an account of a visit to the island by V. Scott O'Connor in the 1920s (O'Connor, 1929). He saw then some windmills in ruins and "more terraces than the people can now cultivate." He comments that "there are more Anaphiotes in Athens than in Anaphi. Over there they live in a quarter of their own under the Acropolis known as Makri Yianni, and every lad who leaves his island makes for it as another home. They make good masons and builders." Although most islanders now live and work in the suburbs of Athens, some remain in the city centre. The office of the

Society for Émigré Anaphiots is still situated in Makri Yianni and a street on the north slopes of the Acropolis is named Anaphiotika.

O'Connor visited Anaphi when there were a few Communist political prisoners exiled there. A later account (Birtles, 1938) is concerned with the life of the commune set up by the Communist prisoners on the island and makes little mention of the islanders themselves. Birtles, a young Australian Communist, who visited Anaphi in 1936, gives his informants' descriptions of a hunger strike which 145 of them undertook for an amnesty. Some of the Communist exiles married island girls and I heard similar accounts of the hunger strike and its inconclusive results from them. Birtles also attended some of the evening study groups set up by the exiles. One of my informants claimed that these study groups led by doctors, university professors, and other well-read exiles, gave him a breadth and depth of education unrivalled in his opinion by university teaching and research. Some of the exiles' knowledge and ideas had an influence on the islanders with whom they came into contact, particularly those to whom they became connected by marriage. One island woman told me that she had been taught to weave by the women political exiles on a loom which she still used, constructed by the male exiles. It

certainly seems that the waves of exiles from the 1920s onward had an effect, however slight, on island life and thought.

Anaphi was occupied by an Italian garrison from May 1941 until September 1943. During this period, and again during the Greek Civil War, many Athenian-living islanders returned to Anaphi to escape the dangers and difficulties in the city. They recultivated holdings which they had earlier abandoned and the island, according to informants, "took on a new lease of life." When the Civil War was over the Athenian islanders returned to the city but retained a strong interest in Anaphi. The Society of Émigré Anaphiots sends money for repairs to churches and chapels, for school books and prizes, and tries to interest government departments in improvement schemes. Even the most prosperous and settled city-dweller feels that if times change, as the unsettled political history of Greece might well lead him to expect, he has as a last resort a few hill-terraces on which to grow grain and a few olive trees to provide subsistence. Athenian Anaphiots remember the Civil War and their return to Anaphi, where they were fed, housed and comparatively safe. It is not surprising that émigré islanders, as townsmen I have met in many parts of Greece, retain a confidence in the land as ultimate security.

Data from the Naval Intelligence Division Handbooks on Greece (1919 and 1945) provide a fairly accurate summary of conditions during my fieldwork. A brief mention of this information will serve to conclude this section on the published sources and history of Anaphi and will provide an introduction to a description of the island and the village. "Owing to its isolation and the simplicity of its life, the island is self-supporting to an unusual degree and there are few exports . . . the islanders' isolation (due to the nature of their coasts) and perhaps the conditions of land-tenure (cf. Ios) discourage great activity and the island is not as closely populated nor as productive as it might be"(1919, vol.2, p.174). The reference to Ios reads "what good land it possesses is mostly in the hands of larger owners and is not energetically or intensively worked . . . lack of personal ownership discourages industry" (1919, vol. 2, p. 136). The large landowners on Anaphi in the 1940s may well have included the Church (untenanted monastery lands were distributed to landless islanders in 1956) as well as those, remembered by informants, who had many holdings in different parts of the island and hired labourers, rented out the land and had it worked on half-shares tenancies. There are no large landowners of this kind on Anaphi now, although many émigré

islanders retain their lands on the island, renting them to shepherds or entering half-shares agreements with islanders who send them some produce and give them some when they come to the island for holidays. The émigrés say they are not really interested in the land (except as an insurance as I have already explained) and do not mind slack half-shares arrangements as long as the land is not left to go wild. The Handbook adds "the islanders have little interest in the sea and do not engage in fishing and trade . . . There is little trade with other islands or the mainland . . . and although the inhabitants sometimes migrate to work on the mainland of Greece, Anafi is one of the most primitive and self-contained of the islands" (1945, vol. 3, p. 486).

CHAPTER ONE

ANAPHI: THE ISLAND, THE VILLAGE, THE POPULATION

Anaphi in the National Administrative Setting

In 1961 the population of Greece was about 8½ million people. Of this total, one-eighth live on islands, and roughly half the Greek islanders live on the islands of the Aegean Sea. (Greek National Statistical Service, 1965).

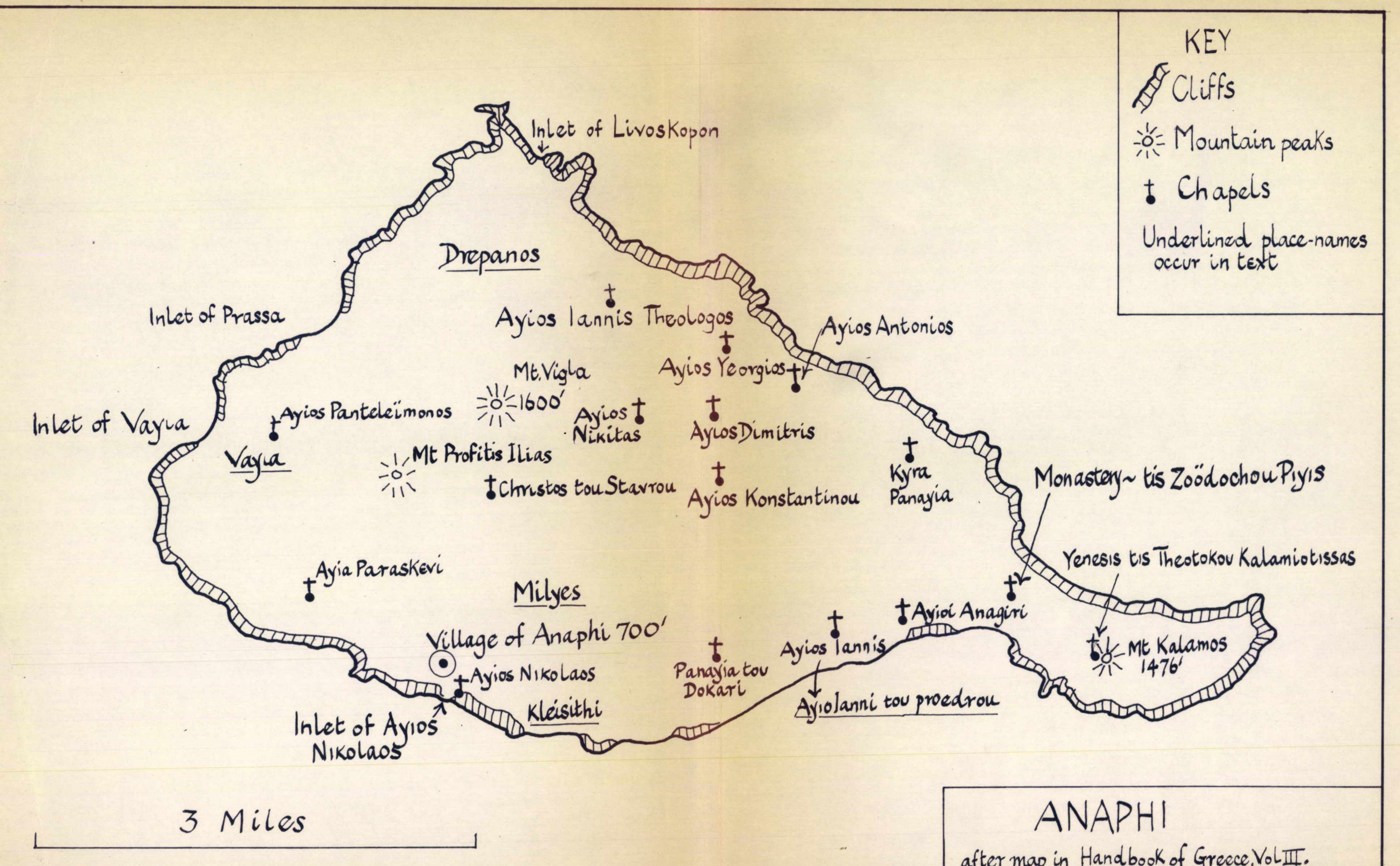
The Aegean Islands are divided into five administrative areas, _nomoi_ (provinces); each _nomos_ is made up of _eparchies_ (districts), small groupings of islands, one of which acts as administrative focus for the others. Each individual larger island within the _eparchy_ is called _demos_ (municipality) and major villages within each large island, and the smaller villages and smallest islands, are known as _kinotites_ (communes).

The _kinotis_ of Anaphi belongs to the district of Thira, based on the island of Thira (Santorini) 13 miles to the west of Anaphi. The administrative centre for the _nomos_ (province) of the Cyclades (population 100,000 in 1961) is the island of Syros, about 70 miles to the north. Directives are sent from the _nomarchos_ (provincial governor) of Syros to the _demarchos_ (district commissioner) of Thira and passed on to the _proedros_ (mayor) of Anaphi. Internal

island affairs and the enactment of directives from Thira or Syros are carried out on Anaphi by an elected council made up of five men. The proedros, chairman of the council,- a word often translated as "mayor" or "village president",- and two of the councillors form the majority, the other two councillors provide an opposition party. (The relation of these parties at village level to the national political parties is discussed in Chapter Three.) Any adult listed in the register of the kinotis as eligible to vote by reason of birth or residence on Anaphi can vote in the four-yearly elections for the council. This means that émigrés can vote for the village councillors provided their voting registration is still on Anaphi. Votes for national elections are also made through kinotis or demos of registration.

Anaphi in the administration of the Greek Orthodox Church

In the 1961 census over 90% of the population of Greece was classified as belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church (Greek Nat. Stat. Serv., 1965). The organization and administration of the church is closely linked to the state machinery and is related to other spheres of administration; for example, the Ministry of Education is combined with that of Religious Affairs. The Greek Orthodox Church is independent and self-governing under its head, the



ANAPHI

after map in Handbook of Greece, Vol III. Naval Intelligence Division, 1945.

Archbishop, based in Athens, but its organization does not cover the whole of Greece. Crete, some islands in the Aegean, and Mount Athos, are all directly under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The rest of Greece is divided into 66 dioceses, each administered by a Bishop. Bishops are drawn exclusively from the monastic clergy, and celibacy is a prerequisite for church offices higher than that of priest. A married man may be ordained as a priest but he cannot be appointed to any higher office, and an ordained priest cannot marry or remarry if his wife dies, after ordination.

Usually a Greek village priest is a married man, a native of the village, who continues his usual occupation along with his priestly duties. On Anaphi the functions of village priest are performed by the Abbot of the Monastery of Panayia Kalamiotissa (the All-Holy Virgin, Our Lady of the Reed) which lies at the eastern end of the island, four hours' journey from the village.

General description of the island (see fold-out map facing this page)

Location and size. Anaphi is the most south-easterly of the Cycladic islands. It lies about 160 miles in a direct line from Piraeus, and 80 miles north of Crete. Time distance gives a better idea of its outlying position;

the weekly steamer takes fifteen hours to reach Anaphi after leaving Piraeus and calling at Syros, Paros and Naxos, and twenty-two hours of the weeks when it goes on from Naxos to visit other islands before finishing its run at Anaphi.

The island is about fifteen square miles in area, roughly triangular in shape with the northern area as apex, and the seven-mile long southern coast as base. The coasts are mainly steep and rocky; inland the island is mountainous. The main ridge runs east-west across the island from the promontory of Mount Kalamos (1476 feet), which is joined to the eastern apex of the island by a narrow isthmus to its highest point, Mount Vigla (1600 feet). (Naval Intelligence Division Handbook, 1945, vol. 3). The northern flanks of the ridge drop to the coast fairly steeply, cut by short deep valleys. The southern flanks slope more gently and are cross-cut by hills and wider shallow valleys.

Population. In January 1967 there were 394 people living on Anaphi, 183 males and 211 females (see Figure Eleven - 11), Demographic Appendix). A rough break-down of the resident population in terms of age shows that it is made up of 230 adults, "adult" meaning an individual over 21 years of age, or regarded and defined as independent because of marriage before this age; 30 young men and girls over

the age of 11 years (the age of leaving the village primary school) who are still living with parents; 80 children of 5-11 years, still at the primary school, and about 40 babies and pre-school-age children. Six boys over 11 years old attend high school on Santorini and return to Anaphi for holidays.

In terms of residence the population consists of 125 households, all but nine of which are situated in the village. There are 91 nuclear family households at various stages in the domestic cycle, and 34 fragmented, mostly one-person households, consisting of a bachelor, spinster, widower or widow. Some of the widows have children.

Communications. The island is linked to the mainland and to other islands in the Cyclades by the weekly steamer. Near the middle of the south coast is the harbour inlet of Ayios Nikolaos, protected by the headland which runs down from the ridge 700 feet above, on which the village of Anaphi is built. The inlet acts as a harbour for small fishing boats and dinghies but it is too shallow for the steamer to approach close enough to dock or to get any shelter from prevailing winds. It drops anchor about 500 yards from the inlet, and dinghies are rowed out to ferry passengers, luggage and supplies. In winter, winds and waves are often too strong for the dinghies to reach the

steamer for passengers to embark or disembark, or for provisions and mailsacks to be unloaded from the steamer.

During the last months of my fieldwork the steamer service was supplemented by the irregular visits of a 30-foot sail-and-motor caique from the island of Ios, north of Thira. Because steamers brought mail nearly every day to Ios and Thira the caique was able to bring additional mail to Anaphi. It also brought supplies and items which had become difficult to obtain by the regular steamer. After the military coup in April 1967 there was a tightening up of the rules about transport of inflammable goods and live animals. This caique and others chartered from neighbouring islands by the meat merchants took the sheep and goats from Anaphi to these other islands for slaughter.

A naval vessel calls twice yearly to check and maintain the battery-operated beacon on the habour headland. Fishing boats from other islands and from mainland ports from time to time tie up in the harbour; their crews mend nets on the quayside and send up surplus catch for sale in the village to get cash with which to buy cigarettes, oil and any necessities which may have run short.

The largest boat owned by an islander is the 15-foot petrol-engined sailing caique belonging to three fishermen brothers. They are the only full-time fishermen on the

island and also act as ferrymen for the steamer and, under arrangements of private hire, as boatmen to the Monastery and to Thira in calm weather.

There are two alternative harbour inlets where the steamer calls when winds make it impossible for it to approach Ayios Nikolaos without the danger of being driven on to the rocks. The bay called Prassa on the west coast had been used twice in the three years preceding fieldwork (1963-66), and there were notes earlier in the steamer company record book of steamers anchored off Livoskopon, a bay protected by the north cape of the island. Dinghies were kept in boat houses at Prassa and Livoskopon and the steamer was guided by flares and bonfires of thorn bush. It seems likely that the steamer only came to these alternative harbours to pick up hospital cases. For example, in August 1968 the steamer direct from Heraklion in Crete to Piraeus was diverted to Anaphi to take to Athens a woman who had severe bleeding after childbirth.

The letters and parcels which arrive on the weekly steamer are collected from it by a part-time mailman, an islander who is a kinsman of the post office clerk. The clerk himself is the eldest son of an islander,(a blacksmith), educated in Athens and married to a girl from the

émigré community. He gives mail for those living outside the village to shepherds or workmen to deliver. Mail to be sent on the weekly steamer is brought to the post office the day before the boat calls and is taken down to the harbour by the mail-man. An undersea cable connects the island telephone to the main post office on Thira, whence telegrams and phone calls from Athens are relayed to the island. The post office electricity generator is powered by diesel fuel, brought on the steamer. There is a radio mast on the Kastro rock, with a transmitter in the post office, worked by the clerk. This connects Anaphi to other islands, the mainland and, in emergencies, with shipping.

Principal Economic Activities

The internal economy of the island is based on the subsistence farming of grain and olives and on the rearing of sheep and goats for export.

The lower mountain slopes are terraced for the cultivation of wheat, barley, olives and vines; the more gently sloping land is used mainly for fruit and vegetable gardens. There are few springs and yield is mostly dependent on rainfall. The mountain tops and slopes, covered in low scrub, gorse and brambles, and the abandoned hill-terraces, provide grazing for flocks of sheep and goats.

After harvest the hill-terraces are grazed for six months until ploughing begins. The sale of livestock in the spring to itinerant meat-merchants is a major economic link between Anaphi, other islands and the mainland. There is no surplus of agricultural produce for export, apart from small quantities of onions and honey. Animal skins are sold for shoe leather, goathair for ropemaking and dried crocus stamens for saffron.

The island is linked to the city and suburbs of Athens by the temporary migration of men who work as builders' labourers during the summer months. There is rarely a good enough harvest of grain or olives for the islanders to be self-sufficient in the basic necessities of flour and oil, and these have to be imported. The cash to pay for such additional food and other goods comes mainly from this seasonal migration. The temporary migration of married men for seasonal summer work, and of boys and young men after leaving school until military service, as well as of girls to become dressmakers and servants in the city, is a long-established pattern of island life. Anaphiots first went to Athens when it became the capital city of Greece over a hundred years ago.

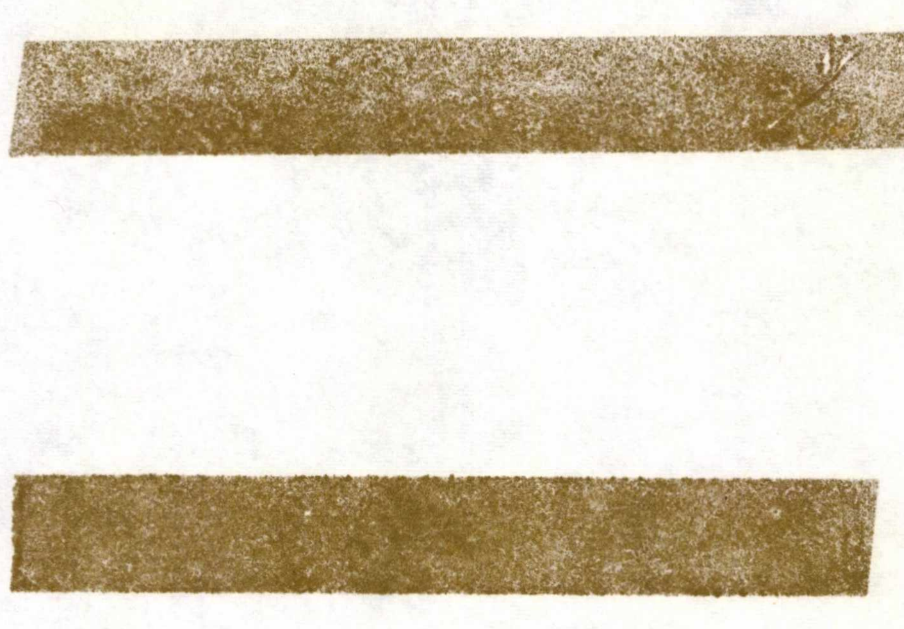
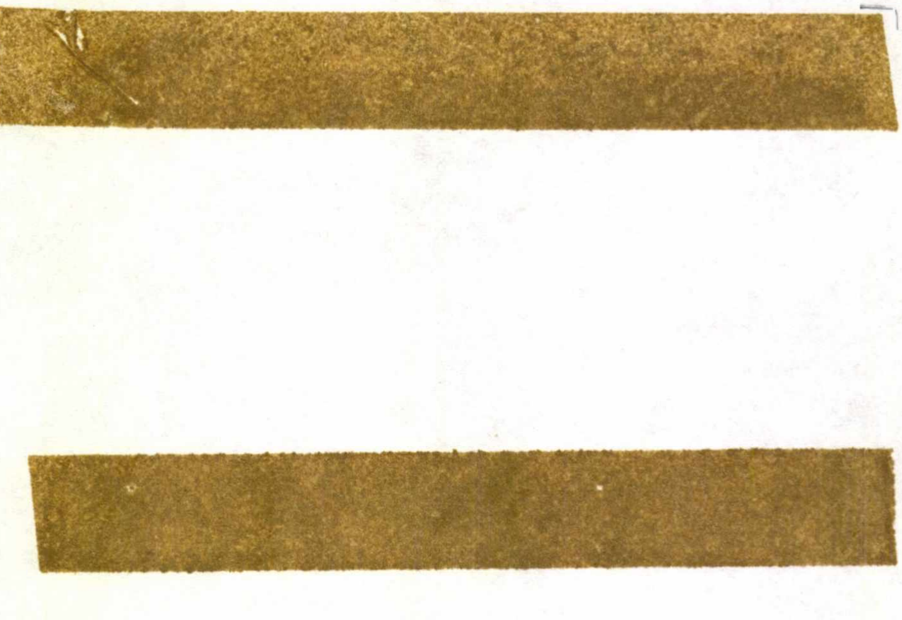


Figure Three



The Harbour of Ayios Nikolaos and
the Village of Anaphi

Description of the Village (see plan of village in pocket on back cover)

Almost all of the 394 islanders live in the only village which lies on a roughly east-west axis on a ridge 700 feet above the harbour (see Figure Three facing). A zig zag track leads from the beach up the steep hillside to the main street of the village which runs along the side of the ridge, ending in a square facing west to Thira. A track leads steeply down from the square to the western side of the island. The ridge is topped by an outcrop of rock on which are the ruins of a C15 Venetian citadel, which was much damaged by the tremors of the earthquake on Thira in 1956. A radio mast and two chapels stand on the fortress rock which is called the Kastro. There are houses all along the main street and rock paths lead to groups of houses on the side of the harbour hill and on the slopes of the Kastro.

Houses are made of stone or cement bricks, plastered and whitewashed and most of them, certainly all the oldest ones, have barrel-vaulted roofs.

This style of building is rare in the Aegean islands, and is only found on Thira and Anaphi. The islanders said that there were two possible explanations; the shortage of suitable timber for cross-beams to support a flat roof, and

the greater resistance of barrel-vaulted roofs to earth tremors. It is certainly true that the island lacks timber for sound construction. Stables and outhouses are roofed with bamboo canes covered with mud plaster, and the flat-roofed houses built recently make use of imported timber and reinforced concrete. However, houses on the volcanic island of Nisyros in the Dodecanese which I visited in 1965 are flat-roofed, so that the connection between barrel-vaulted roofs and resistance to earth tremors remains a speculation (Wagstaff, 1965). Houses in Anaphiotika, the first émigré settlement in Athens, on the northern slopes of the Acropolis, have barrel-vaulted roofs in the traditional Anaphiot style. If resistance to the earth-tremors resulting from volcanic activity on Thira is vitally important on Anaphi, it is difficult to understand why recently-built houses there are constructed in fashionable mainland flat-roofed style by islanders who have worked in the city as masons and builders' labourers.

<u>Domestic Arrangements</u>

Most houses are surrounded by a courtyard. An oven is built into one wall; in one corner there is a sloping sink for washing clothes. A henrun, rabbit hutches and a store-shed are built inside the yard, and pots of herbs and flowers are put by the door and by the walls. Usually the house

consists of one main room where the family eat, sleep and entertain, but some have a separate room, the saloni, "front parlour" which is reserved for receiving visitors on formal occasions, for displaying ornaments and photographs, and for storing clothes and linen. It is seldom used by the family although special guests, such as visiting officials, may be accommodated there; the members of the household are effectively confined to the use of the one main room. A small scullery-kitchen opens off the main room; most housewives cook over fires of dried thorn and brush, but some have double gas-ring plates attached to cylinders of bottled gas. Rain water runs from gutters around the roof into cisterns in the courtyard or kitchen and is brought up by a bucket and rope and stored in large earthenware jars. If the household cistern runs dry in summer, water is brought in from a spring near the village. Only one house in the village, the schoolmaster's, has a bathroom in which there is a shower, a bidet and a pedestal lavatory; water is pumped from a rainfilled cistern in the courtyard to tanks on the roof, from which it is piped to bathroom and kitchen. A few houses have an earth-closet lavatory in the courtyard. This type is usually a hole over a cess-pit, sometimes covered with a cement or porcelain fitment with a ridged foot rest on each side of the hole.

Many houses do not have even an earth-closet, and members of the household use an enclosed part of the hen-run as a place for excretion. Apart from the schoolmaster's house, no house has a bathroom or facilities for washing the whole body. There is usually a small metal or plastic water container hung on the wall above the kitchen sink. This container is filled up with a bucketful of water from the courtyard cistern and water flows out through a simple tap at the bottom. Hands and face are washed under this tap. In the summer children swim in the sea for pleasure. Some old people also go down to the harbour, wade into the sea in old clothes and then lie on the beach and cover themselves with hot sand. Some are following doctor's orders and others are prompted by hear-say that this is an effective treatment for rheumatic pains and arthritis.

The main room of the house contains a wooden sofa covered with straw-stuffed cushions over which white lace-edged cloths are tucked. Furniture always includes a table, also covered with a white crochet-edged cloth protected by a plastic tablecloth, several wicker-seated chairs and a wooden chest for blankets, linen and clothes, which also serves as a mouse-proof store for bread and cakes, and where savings, particularly gold sovereigns, are said to be hidden. Against the back wall is a double bed, covered with a white

wool bedspread edged with an elaborate crochet fringe. On the wall above the bed is the family ikonostasis, a collection of holy pictures and ritual objects together with the couple's wedding garlands set into a carved wooden frame. A small oil lamp and a cup of incense stand on a small shelf by the ikons. The room also contains beds and cots for the children, a dresser or cabinet for the best crockery, a wardrobe and a gilt-edged mirror. The walls are hung with old pictures and photographs, the cement floor covered by a few rugs. The room is lit by paraffin lamps, and some houses have one window, little more than an air-hole above the door, and a small window let into the kitchen wall, but usually there is a window closed by wooden shutters in one wall of the main room.

Layout of the Village (see plan in pocket on back cover)

Most of the important buildings in the village face on to the main street. The track from the harbour turns into the main street in front of the village primary school, a square flat-roofed building, painted yellow. Near the school is a grocery kept by a widow who cooks the midday meal for the school children. Thirty yards further on, going westwards, the four cafeneia - cafés or coffee-houses - face each other, two by two across the street. The two on the south side of the path have balconies from which there

is a view down the hillside to the harbour, the other two face directly on to the path. On summer evenings customers sit outside the cafés at tables set out on the path, or on the balconies looking down to the sea. The café proprietors use bottled gas cooking-rings and paraffin pressure lamps. They provide entertainment and information for their clientele with transistor radios and newspapers brought on the weekly steamer. Each café building is rented by the proprietor from an owner living in Athens.

Beside the cafés is a hardware store which also stocks dried and tinned food, cloth, plastic shoes and workmen's overalls. The proprietor rents the shop from an islander. He occasionally buys and slaughters sheep and goats to sell to villagers on major feast days and travels to Athens to sell the skins about twice a year, when he orders stocks for his shop and transacts other business.

A little further westwards down the road from the cafés is the police station. The office door faces on to the path and another door opens on to a balcony looking down to the harbour and across to the cafés. The policemen are thus within sight and sound of the centre of island men's leisure activities. The three policemen stationed on Anaphi during 1966-67 were all from Crete. One of them was related to a resident, a retired policeman, also a Cretan,

who had married an island girl.

Diagonally opposite the police station is the second of the two groceries. This shop is run by a married couple, has a larger stock and more customers than the widow's grocery and gives larger amounts of credit and for a longer period of time. This grocer buys animals to slaughter and sell within the island and cures skins to send to Athens for shoeleather. He also imports cement and building materials, household goods, inexpensive luxury goods and chemist's goods including contraceptives.

Further west along the path is the post office. The building is a private house, the dowry of an island girl now living in Athens, which is rented by the Greek national postal, telephone and telegraph companies.

The path opens out into a square on the edge of a plateau facing west. On the north side of the square is the main village church dedicated to Ayios Nikolaos, and a flourmill owned by two island fishermen. On the western edge of the square are two ruined windmills and a chapel dedicated to Ayios Athanasios. In the centre is a marble war memorial surrounded by low iron railings. The memorial bears the names of islanders who died in various campaigns from 1880 onwards, in World Wars I and II, in the civil war and in the Cyprus troubles. It was put up by the Society

of Émigré Anaphiots in Athens. On the southern side of the square are rock-cut paths leading down to groups of houses, including those of the doctor and the proedros. A track leads steeply down from the western end of the square to the west and north-west areas of the island.

There are three public wells in the village with sloping stone sinks for washing clothes. One is at the eastern end of the village, another on the hillslope below the café and the third beside the track leading down from the square. The water which drains into them from paths and hill slopes is used for watering animals and for washing, especially in the summer, to conserve household water supplies. They were built in the early Sixties by the village council. They are not gathering places where women gossip.

Neighbourhoods

Nearly all the island households are situated in the village of Anaphi. To the islanders the village is made up of neighbourhoods, geitonya. There are no clear physical boundaries between them, nor do neighbourhood names refer precisely to a particular group of houses. The eastern section of the village is called Plaiya, (from playi, side or flank), the cobbled area near the four cafés is known as ta Paspirakya, the cobbles; the neighbourhood on the side of

the castle rock is <u>Kastro</u>, the castle; the north-facing side of the castle rock is called <u>Vorna</u>, possibly a combination of <u>vouno</u>, mountain, and <u>vorios</u>, north. Houses on the hillslope to the southwest of the rock are called <u>tou Vasiliou</u>, the neighbourhood of Vasilis, although no one of this name lives there now; the area around the square is known as <u>simathya</u>, from <u>sima</u>, near. Besides these general neighbourhood names, households identify their location in the village by reference to chapels dedicated to particular saints or feast days. The chapel of Ss. Kosmas and Damian distinguishes the area where the neighbourhoods of Playia and Kastro shade into each other, the chapel of the Dormition of the Virgin, <u>Kimisis</u>, is above the cafés but not quite definable as Kastro. Other reference points are the two forges, the olive presses, the post-office, and the flour mills.

It takes less than five minutes to get from one side of the village to the other, but for women in particular the distance between neighbourhoods is large. Unless a woman has kin or <u>koumbari</u> in another neighbourhood, or unless she is visiting a chapel or shop, she has no reason to go there. Some women told me that they had not been to particular neighbourhoods since they had played there as

children.

In some cases sisters' dowry houses are near each other, or near the parents' house, but this did not appear to be a general trend, though it was felt to be preferable for co-operation and contact.

Each neighbourhood has its gossip centre, a house where most women from nearby houses come to spend their evenings and to which kinswomen and koumbares come from other parts of the village. A woman thus belongs to several gossip groups which are sources and channels of information. Her own house may be a centre for neighbours, and for her kinswomen and koumbares from other neighbourhoods. When she visits a neighbour's house she meets the neighbour's kinswomen and koumbares; when she visits her own kin and koumbares she meets their neighbours and their kin. Information travels quickly through these overlapping networks, but women are careful to balance the rewards of revealing unexpected news against the charge of being a gossip, koutsaboulissa. Non-related women from other neighbourhoods do not join each other's evening gossip groups because there is no tie of locality or kinship, and a visitor with no specific purpose would be considered a "spy" - kataskopos. Certain houses have the reputation of lively places for evening visits and are crowded in the

winter. Women and children sit round buckets of hot coals and *pirini*, a fuel made from dried olive pressings. They sing old songs, dance to their own singing or to a battery-operated gramophone, and talk over village affairs and news from the émigré community. The married women sew, crochet, and spin wool, and the young girls embroider pillow-slips and tablecloths for their trousseaux. In the summer the women take chairs out into the courtyard and can see and be seen by other groups of women, and by men going to and from the cafés.

The women in whose house the members of the gossip group meet does not provide any snacks, sweets or coffee. When someone visits the house for the first time, or when one of these women come on a formal occasion, such as a name-day, the housewife serves *loukoumi*, Turkish delight, or a small cake on a special plate, together with a glass of water, both on a tray. She then serves Turkish coffee. These foods, and the way they are served, define the visit as a formal one. Appropriate ritual phrases are exchanged. The guest wishes *chronia polla* - many years - on a name day; *na zisite na ton thimosaste* - may you live to remember him - after a funeral or memorial service; *na sas zisi* - may he live for you - after a christening. The hostess replies with a wish appropriate to the visitor, *kala stefana*,

literally "fine garlands" - to someone unmarried or with children of marriageable age, or _o ti pothite_ - whatever you wish for, if there is no specifically appropriate wish. The evening gossip groups are not occasions for this type of behaviour, in which the roles of hostess and guest are formally defined.

Light domestic tasks such as preparing vegetables, cleaning grain, teasing and spinning wool, are carried out in company with other women, in courtyards or on the flights of rock-cut steps which link a lane of houses into a neighbourhood. Neighbouring housewives often co-operate in baking, by sharing an oven and helping with kneading the dough and making cakes. Ties of informal help between young married women neighbours do tend to slacken off as daughters grow up and help with household tasks. The bond of friendship with a neighbour is often confirmed by a _koumbaros_ relationship.

Men are not so tightly restricted to interaction with kin, _koumbari_ and neighbours, and their relationships cross-cut neighbourhood boundaries. They may in fact visit houses in other parts of the village to arrange details of labouring jobs, but the usual place for such encounters is the _cafeneion_. Women do not have a similar

neutral territory on which to meet, such as that provided by the village well in some communities. In addition to the sorts of relationship such as those of kinship and koumbaria which they share with their womenfolk, men participate in a variety of commercial, political and contractual dyadic relationships. The difference is not so much in the number of people with whom there is interaction, but in the variety of rights, duties and obligations which are involved in men's relationships.

Neighbouring household heads are more likely to co-operate in jobs within the village, helping with household repairs, moving supplies to and from storehouses, etc., if they also co-operate in ploughing, harvesting and transport of grain and olive crops from the fields. As sons grow up there is less need of help from neighbours, but the relationship of male neighbours may well be strengthened through a koumbaros tie, or marriage between their children. Neighbours never co-operate as a group, although they may regard themselves as all under the specific patronage of the saint of the neighbourhood chapel. Neighbourhood ties are essentially optional and voluntary, being based on personal liking.

Non-Village households

Village residents have the advantages of shops, post-office, craftsmen, flour-mill, olive-press and the accessibility of the harbour. As well as the convenience of living in the village for practical considerations, there are the advantages of speedy contact with other villagers, the information of cafeneion discussions, and women's gossip fed by the observation of neighbour on neighbour.

Nine island households are outside the village. Members of five of the households come into the village for provisions and mail, the others are visited and supplied by relatives or regular workmen. The majority of the non-village households are unable to live normally in the village because of physical or mental incapacity, or because of past behaviour which makes them socially unacceptable. There are: a semi-paralysed elderly bachelor; a deaf-mute shepherd; a widow with a mentally defective adult son; a mentally deranged elderly spinster; and a farming family with large estates and a history of adultery, common-law marriage, madness and possible rape and murder.

One old couple live on their farm just outside the village for the sake of the husband's health. An old widow lives alone near the chapel where her husband's

and children's bones are interred. Both these households come to the village for church services and major festivals, are highly respected and sought after as employers and koumbari. There are also two shepherd families who live by the Monastery and graze flocks belonging to it, and to the Abbot in his private capacity. They are "marginal" in a slightly different way from the non-village households whose honour is tarnished by physical or mental defects. Shepherds usually have some lands of their own, even if it is only grazing land, and they make contracts with other islanders who own flocks or grazing land. Hireling shepherds with little freedom of choice in their conditions of employment, living away from the village, admit by taking on this role that they have in no way approached the ideal of economic self-sufficiency and independence. These shepherd families have lost their honour through economic failure rather than through transgressing the moral code.

Apart from the elderly couple and the widow, who live outside the village, whose reputations are secure and confirmed by the economic and social success of their émigré children, non-village households exhibit between them conditions which by island standards inevitably affect

the evaluation of their honour. The factors which make up the concept of honour on Anaphi and determine how any family is assessed by itself and by others, are shown by these negative instances to be: physical and mental health, conformity to the moral code, and the appearance of independence and free choice in occupational and social contacts.

There are village households who score low in judgments of honour, and non-village households who score high. On the whole, however, the households with the highest reputations live in the village, where they can most effectively use their stock of honour, and households whose honour is lost or valued low live outside the village, where they are not forced to make public their disgrace.

The population as an entity

The members of the Anaphiot population regard themselves as a unit with respect to outsiders. They are a moral community in that they have shared values, including shared criteria for membership; belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, holding land on the island and holding it by virtue of a name which is linked to previous generations of Anaphiot land-holders.

They are also a corporate group in the sense that they

are a property-holding group with continuity over time. Land on Anaphi is held by men of particular families, but ultimately it belongs to the island community as a whole. For example, land once belonging to the now untenanted monasteries is allocated by lot to those with little or no land; the islets off the south coast of the island are rented out by the village council (representing the island community as an administrative unit) to shepherds who bid for a year's grazing.

These are the criteria by which islanders define themselves as Anaphiots. As Anaphiots the islanders are also linked to each other through ties of kinship and affinity, through wedding-sponsor and godparent (koumbaros) relationships. They have similar ties with the émigré community in Athens. There are very few kinship or koumbaros ties with neighbouring islands or with other parts of Greece.

The units which are linked to each other through different types of ties, which form specific networks for each unit, are nuclear family households.

CHAPTER TWO

ÉMIGRÉS AND SEASONAL MIGRANTS

Factors influencing migration*

On the map the island of Anaphi looks isolated and remote, and so it is regarded by most Greeks; the islanders themselves, indeed, think of it in some contexts as makria ap' to Theo, far from God; but Anaphi is not as isolated as it appears to other Greeks or to a casual visitor. My chief concern in this chapter is to indicate the nature of the many links between the island community and the city and suburbs of Athens. This brief description is to provide a background for the account of island life and to counterbalance any extreme impression of isolation and insularity which this account may give. The inadequacy of the island's subsistence economy necessitates contact and trade with other islands and the mainland. The trade in island produce and mainland supplies is carried on by a few specialists and entrepreneurs, but has a vital, if indirect, effect on the whole island population.

Contact with the Anaphiot community in Athens

The trade with the mainland provides opportunities for

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*General works consulted in this chapter are FAO 1947; FAO 1959; Moore W.E. 1945; Pepelasis 1961; RIIA 1939.

a regular exchange of news and goods between island families and close relatives in Athens. On the day before the steamer calls, women are busy filling wicker baskets with seasonal vegetables and homemade sweets and savouries. In early spring they pick _chorta_, wild greens; at Easter they send _melitera_, small cakes made with _mizithra_, soft white cheese, and in the summer they send grapes and _frangosika_, the fruit of the prickly pear. Old pieces of sacking or sheet are stitched round the rim of the baskets to close them and the name and address of the recipient is inked on. The baskets are given into the care of the _Tachydromos_, an island-born now Athens-based entrepreneur who travels between the island and the city, spending alternate weeks in each. The _Tachydromos_ delivers the baskets either at the quayside in Piraeus, or to the recipient's address. His scale of charges depends on the size and weight of the basket and the place of delivery. The recipient usually fills the basket up with Athenian produce, vegetables which are scarce or unobtainable on Anaphi, such as tomatoes and melons or apples and oranges according to season, white bread, and any other goods requested. The sacking cover is turned over, stitched on to the rim of the basket and the name of the Anaphiot recipient written on before the Tachydromos collects it,

or it is taken to him at the quayside.

The baskets go to and fro each week, the names on the covers becoming faded and almost indecipherable. The Tachydromos spends every other week in Athens with his wife and children, carrying out various commissions for Anaphiots, and delivering and collecting things amongst the migrants. The commissions he undertakes for such things as diesel engine parts, outboard motors, medicines, might seem to be ones which islanders could ask their migrant relatives to do for them. A number of considerations outweigh this convenience. The proedros, for example, told me that he did not want his city relatives to know about his various schemes, to be able to guess how much spare cash he had, nor to find out about his ailments. Besides wanting to keep things to himself, he said, his relatives might delay or make a mistake over the purchase, whereas the Tachydromos would be careful to buy the right thing, transport it safely back to Anaphi, and give it to the proedros a week after he had ordered it. He would also be careful not to let the proedros' relatives know about purchases and transactions. Surely this was worth the 10 per cent commission charged by the Tachydromos? The Tachydromos is busiest in April when he takes to émigrés who still own land on Anaphi baskets and boxes of cheese,

paid as rent by shepherds whose flocks graze this land. Most émigrés prefer to receive rent in the form of cheese rather than cash. The cash value of the cheese, they say, is <u>mikri iperisia</u>, "small beer", which makes little difference to Athenian living expenses, but Anaphiot cheese reminds them of <u>patritha mas</u>, our homeland. The <u>Tachydromos</u> also buys cheeses from the shepherds to sell to non-land-owning émigrés. He buys other seasonal specialities, such as November pork sausages, wild spring greens, summer grapes and <u>frangosika</u>, to supply a small "patriotic" market for these goods in the city. On his return journeys to the island he brings for general sale fruit and vegetables from Athens which are grown by only a few farmers on Anaphi. He also imports goods with which he hopes to anticipate demands and undercut the grocers and the hardware stores owner who imports through wholesale organizations in Athens, not through the <u>Tachydromos</u>.

Because he is such an important entrepreneur he is entitled by the government to pay half the normal deck-class fare for his journeys, while he pays at the normal rate for transporting goods and livestock. He has arrangements with particular island boatmen and donkeymen for transporting his goods to and from the steamer. On his week's stay on the island he uses his wife's dowry house as a shop and

storehouse. His wife and children visit the island during the summer months.

The <u>Tachydromos</u> is an example of what Bailey calls a "hinge man" (Bailey, 1966) linking the island to the outside world, or rather bridging the two locations of Anaphi - the island and the émigré community. He moves between the two worlds, belonging to and accepted by both of them. He is an Anaphiot, married to an island girl, with close kin on the island, with <u>koumbaros</u> ties to important islanders, yet his home is in Athens. He has <u>koumbaros</u> ties to important members of the émigré community, and has contacts in every kind of trade and business in the city. He is discreet and preserves the necessary confidentiality of the transactions he undertakes. To the Anaphiots he possesses the criteria for belonging to the island community while at the same time having all the skills they lack for coping with the city.

The need for cash to buy subsistence foods and other goods connects the island labour force with the Athenian labour market during the gap in the farming year after the June harvest, and before agricultural work begins again in October. Seasonal migration is thus directly connected to island life: it is correlated with the agricultural cycle and with the islanders' techniques for exploiting resources,

and varies with the success of the farming year. It is a different kind of phenomenon from the young people's search for work in Athens, which removes them from island life and ties them for several years, possibly for life, to jobs in the city. This long-term migration results from the islanders' realization of the lack of occupational choice and economic opportunity on the island; factors which can be detailed for almost any rural community whose members become involved with the expansion and industrialization of the wider economy, and learn about alternative ways of living to those of their parents.

Extent of recent migration.

It is not easy to give even a rough estimate of the rate of migration from Anaphi by comparing population figures for the island in the censuses of 1951 and 1961. In Greece these figures are compiled from the village registers, which list the names of those entitled by birth or residence to vote, rather than the names of actual residents. The Anaphiot register contained the names of many families who had left the island but continued their own and their children's registration there, so that they voted from Anaphi. There are two possible reasons for the importance of obtaining and retaining island registration. Island-registered voters elect the village councillors and also

vote for Cycladic representatives in the Greek parliament. A man living in Athens but still registered in Anaphi can play an important part in island politics and in the politics of the eparchia and nomos by using his vote, which is of more account than it would be in a mainland voting district where the sheer number of votes, and lack of kinship connections, would reduce its influence to insignificance. Secondly, insurance against industrial injury (paid partly by the employer) is only required for labourers in Athens if they are registered where there is a branch of the state insurance service; there is no branch on Anaphi. [cf. p.66].

There were some notes in the register of cases of change of registration to one of the Athenian suburbs where émigrés had settled. These individual cases are evidence for émigrés' eventual lessening of ties with the island, but there were many instances of those whose registration had remained unchanged although they had moved away, and they were thus included in the census figures. If the same proportion of migrants are in the village register-based census figures for 1951 and 1961, the drop in population shown (from 532 to 471) may be assumed to include some loss from migration over these ten years. Not more than 20 deaths are recorded in the

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FIGURE 4

Destinations of Steamer Passengers from Anaphi, 1964-1966

Destination	No. of Passengers from Anaphi 1964	1965	1966	Totals	%
Piraeus	246	300	311	857	83
Thira	33	24	23	80	8
Syros	15	28	21	64	6
Naxos	2	8	10	20	2
Paros	-	3	-	3)	
Skinoussa	1	-	1	2)	
Koufounisi	2	-	1	3)	
Ios	2	-	1	3) 16	1
Amorgos	1	1	-	2)	
Sikinos	-	2	-	2)	
Folegandros	-	-	1	1)	
Totals	302	366	369	1037	100%

register for this period, although some entries are undated, and over 100 births are listed. At a very rough estimate it appears that about 150 people left the island between 1951-1961, and probably the figure is greater.

Assumptions and impressions about the pull of Athens are confirmed by figures from the records of the steamer company ticket salesman on Anaphi, who kept a list of names, destination, class travelled and baggage. Of the 150 steamer journeys from Anaphi from 1964-66 inclusive, 83 per cent of passengers went to Piraeus, 8 per cent to Santorini, 6 per cent to Syros, 2 per cent to Naxos, and 1 per cent to seven other islands. Many of the travellers were summer visitors returning to the city, and the figures do not therefore represent only islanders' journeys. However, they do give evidence for the major orientation of Anaphi to the mainland. (See figure four, facing).

Anaphi does not present an unusual case of rural migration. There are similar and greater depopulation rates from other islands and mainland areas, but rates tell little about the pattern and process of migration. The information which I gathered on Anaphi and in Athens is not comprehensive. It was not possible to get an accurate set of figures with which to compare migration rates over the hundred-year period during which the islanders became

increasingly involved with the opportunities for employment following on the expansion and development of the Greek state. It appears that this involvement has always been with Athens rather than with the commercially-oriented islands, but this assumption is based on negative evidence. Travellers to the island after 1832, when the Cyclades were included within the boundaries of the newly-formed nation, only comment on migration to the city by men to work as masons and labourers, and by women for jobs as domestic servants, and later as shop assistants and factory workers. The pattern of migration from Anaphi until recent years can only be inferred from these travellers' accounts and from economic and political histories.

<u>Migration in the mid-C19</u>

The period immediately following the Greek War of Independence was economically and politically disorganized, but by the time a constitution was introduced in 1844 a policy of governmental and administrative centralization was established, which was continued and intensified (Finlay, 1877). This concentration of the administrative machinery in Athens demanded a large number of bureaucrats, clerks and office workers. The expansion of Athens as the capital city, administrative centre and commercial focus for the whole of Greece offered a wide range of jobs and

opportunities for social mobility. The city acted as a centripetal force, drawing in not only the personnel needed for all aspects of government, trade and commerce, but also unskilled workers who provided a large labour reserve. Anaphiots are first mentioned as builders and labourers on public buildings and hotels in the city centre (O'Connor, 1929). During the time they were working in Athens these masons and artisans lived and roomed together and built houses for themselves on the slopes of the Acropolis, an area which is still known as Anaphiotika. It is not clear how firmly these first émigrés intended to return to the island, as the first émigré Maniots planned to retire to their home villages in Mani with their earnings (Lineton, personal communication).* The émigré community was at first only a restricted section of the island population; men in their economically active years. Later whole families migrated to the city and focussed their interests there. The Athenian Anaphiots formed the channel through which islanders learnt of jobs, and provided a base for them on arrival. According to the President of the Society of

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*There is no evidence whether or not these first émigrés made direct contributions to the island families' incomes. Today they do not send regular remittances to their relatives, but seasonal migrants do take their savings and acquisitions back to the island, and it is likely that this was the situation in the past.

Émigré Anaphiots, the émigré community was at first small and compact and relatively honogeneous in occupation and earnings. As educational opportunities in Athens helped émigré children and subsequent generations found their way into businesses and professions, they moved out of the émigré settlement to other residential districts, finding their major contacts with people of their own status. They never completely dropped their ties with island relatives or with other émigrés, retaining contact through the Society of Émigré Anaphiots.

The Society of Émigré Anaphiots

The Society is a welfare and pressure group. Over 200 families are listed in its register of members. Addresses range from rich areas in the centre of Athens to streets of shanties in the suburbs. Members pay a subscription fee of five drachmas per month and are informed of all the Society's activities, which include fund-raising entertainments. These funds have, in the past, been used for such things as erecting a war memorial in the village square on Anaphi, financing repairs and rebuilding at the Monastery after earthquake damage in 1956, building a shelter on the quayside, and building a dining hall for the village primary school. Émigré Society funds also provide prizes for the best pupils in the end-of-term tests, and pay for pencils, notebooks and sweets for all the schoolchildren at the prize-giving.

The Society's Committee also tries to influence the policy of various government departments so as to finance further improvements on the island. I heard of a plan to build a small guest house to accommodate summer visitors and pilgrims to the September Festival. The émigrés said that the existing one-room guest house, with three beds, was quite unsuitable for visitors as it was used by the meat-merchants who came to buy livestock in March and August.* The plan for a new guest-house had reached the drawing board stage and dinner-dances were being planned to raise funds to buy land on which to build and to pay for materials and labour.

Late C19 migration**

By the mid 1880s Greek roads and railways were being extended, the population increased and was added to by territorial expansion and the return of overseas Greeks. International and domestic trade developed with the growth of the merchant marine. With the wider circulation of domestic products and imported goods through these improved and extended channels, there was corresponding expansion of

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*What was objected to was the presence of the meat-merchants (in August) and of the fleas which they deposited all the year round.

**General information in this section is taken from Forster, 1960, and Mavrogordato, 1931.

the rich agricultural and commercial islands which retained and, in some cases, gained population. In the Cyclades, the port of Syros (now the administrative centre for this group of islands) became an important focus for trade and commerce. Although there is little information about inter-island movement at this period, it seems probable that the building and labouring jobs on these island centres absorbed their own and neighbouring island workmen and did not provide a continuing and expanding opportunity to distract other islanders from the pull of the work search in Athens. At this time a French firm was working the small mineral deposits on Anaphi (Anon., 1870), and islanders were employed in the mines up to World War I. I do not know how many men were employed, whether the work was seasonal or sporadic and whether it affected the drift to the mainland by offering a local source of employment for wages.

The early C20: migrants to the city, exiles to the island.

The quota system of 1912 restricted the number of Greeks migrating to U.S.A. and consequently the Athens labour market swelled. There was great competition for jobs. By 1927 one-quarter of the Greek labour force belonged to trade unions but these were mainly tobacco workers at Kavalla. There is evidence that the building

workers in Athens were involved in early trade union activities, in left-wing politics and in politically motivated strikes (Campbell and Sherrard, 1968; p.377). This may be one of the reasons why employers favoured seasonal migrant labourers unattached to unions, with no long-term commitment to city-workers' political struggles. There is no information about the political involvement of the émigré community at this time.

After the Communist party was outlawed in 1926, Anaphi, among other islands, was used as a place of political exile for Communist "agitators". The exiles to Anaphi included university professors, doctors and journalists (O'Connor 1929), who set up an informal evening institute at which lectures were given on world history, evolution, medicine and literature (Birtles 1938). A number of islanders were influenced by this contact with liberal and critical ideas and told me that their present political views stemmed directly from the exiles' influence. It is also true that other islanders were influenced by the exiles' presence on Anaphi in deciding never to express a political opinion.

A few exiles married island girls and took them back to the mainland when the period of exile was over. Their island relatives tended to support their left-wing views, to patronize the left-wing café, and to be more politically

aware than other islanders.

In 1934 a social insurance act was passed by which all wage-earners not already insured under existing schemes were compulsorily insured, although on less favourable terms than under voluntary schemes. This insurance only covered those working in places where there was a branch of the Central Insurance Institute. It seems clear that Athenian employers would favour transient migrant workers from places without branches of the Insurance Institute for whom they would not have to pay the employers' contribution. It seems probable that uninsured Anaphiot seasonal labourers continued to find summer jobs in Athens because they were preferred employees.

The Occupation and Civil War Years

Greece attempted to remain neutral at the start of World War II, but Italian forces entered the country in October 1940, and German forces in April 1941. Many islanders who had settled in Athens returned to Anaphi at the beginning of the Occupation to keep clear of disturbances and shortages in the city, and in the hope that their lands on Anaphi would at least provide a subsistence living. This influx of returning émigrés confirmed the view of most islanders that city life was precarious and expensive, and that their own life and values provided a more secure basis

for existence. Many Anaphiots referred to this as a period when island life regenerated despite privations and difficulties. Many émigré couples I met in Athens had first met each other on Anaphi during the Occupation, and the President of the Émigré Society spoke of the debt of gratitude he and his family owed to the island and to the Panayia Kalamiotissa who had kept them safe during the Occupation and Civil War Years.

An Italian garrison occupied Anaphi from 1941-43. They collected forced work-parties to pave the village street and square, and took the best of crops and livestock for their own consumption, although the islanders tried to conceal as much as possible from them.

On the mainland various resistance movements, oriented to conflicting political ends, engaged in guerilla warfare. After the liberation their different aims for the future of Greece drew them into a fierce civil war. Afterwards the country faced problems of reconstruction; the rebuilding and repair of towns, roads and railways and the restoration of administration.

Post-war investment in land and real estate

During the occupation there had been enormous inflation, new issues of drachmas wiping out all previous

issues and destroying all investments and savings throughout the social scale. In 1953 the drachma was devalued and the exchange rate became 30 drachmas to the dollar instead of 30,000. Since then the drachma has remained more or less stable. Anaphiots, still distrusting currency, continue to use the gold sovereign as a stable reference point and prefer, like most other Greeks, to invest in land and property. As I have commented earlier, Greeks feel that the basic security in a world which is to them politically and economically uncertain is land; land which will provide for them subsistence and lodging. There is a deep distrust still of cash savings and jobs depending on the political favour of the administration.

Few Anaphiots have the money to devote to large enterprises like building or buying blocks of flats or houses, now a common investment for those living outside Athens, as well as for city-dwellers. Several islanders have, however, bought landplots in the Athenian suburbs as future dowries for daughters, assuming that the house will be built from the daughter's earnings or as a joint enterprise with her future husband. The _proedros_ of Anaphi gave as dowry to his daughters a flat each in a block near the city centre, and he shares with them the proceeds from the other rented floors.

Until Germany tightened up conditions for foreign work permits in 1967, many Greek men went on two-year work contracts to steel mills or factories in Germany, living in crowded rooming houses to save as much as possible of their wages, and returning with savings, or else buying a second-hand truck and coming back to Greece to enter the haulage and transport business. One Anaphiot was on such a work contract, but no others had gone in the past from the island, although it seems probable that some of the Athenian-living migrants may have got the capital to start cafés and small businesses in this way.

The Island and the City

At the time of fieldwork it was clear that contact between islanders and settled migrants to Athens was extremely important, if not essential, both for the summer workers and the young people who were seeking long-term employment. Often young men and girls go to first jobs suggested and arranged for them by relatives or other island contacts in the city. Nearly every migrant seems to be tied into this island-Athens network, and although chance information and encounters may determine employment, it is controlled chance in the sense that they are living in an Anaphiot environment in Athens where job chances come quickly to their attention. Few if any job hunters leave

the island with no plans of staying with relatives and exploring the possibilities of work through personal contacts. Comparative material supporting these findings comes from Moustaka's study (1964) of migrants from Zagori, N-W Greece, to Yannina and Athens, and from Paros in the Cyclades to Athens between 1951-62. In her sample, over 70 per cent of all the working migrants had been helped in finding work by relatives, "spiritual kinsmen", or émigré co-villagers.

Anaphiot seasonal migrants who go to Athens every summer to work on building sites usually prefer to rent rooms rather than to stay with relatives, so that they are free from obligations. These men already know where and how to find high day-wage labouring jobs, and possibly they do not want to be involved with their relatives because of the financial contributions to the household and the knowledge of their work which would result, inevitably, from co-residence. Even so the émigré community provides not only a base for work but a focus for social and leisure activities. There are cafés and cheap _tavernas_ run by émigré Anaphiots which are patronised during the summer months by the seasonal workers, and such constant involvement in the émigré community and with other seasonal migrants lessens the contact one would expect these workers to have

with city life and values. The settled émigrés, although not confined to one area or suburb, have their major economic and social ties with each other. Kinship and neighbourhood ties in the suburbs are supplemented by other links of more distant kinship and island interests, kept operative by the meetings of the Society of Émigré Anaphiots.

To some extent affinal ties to non-island families modify this self-contained émigré community. Apart from the case of those island girls who married political exiles and moved later to the city, marriages which I knew of outside the island and émigré circles occur in families which to me seem to have achieved a higher status than the majority of émigrés. The usual pattern among the city Anaphiots is for girls to marry the sons of other émigré families, and for boys to select their wives either from this circle or from the island, bringing the girl to the city. The preference is for an island girl with a building-plot dowry in the city suburbs, a land purchase which may already have been made by her family in the hopes of her gaining a non-island husband. Sometimes a land-plot is bought from the proceeds of the sale of her island dowry-house once the couple are engaged. In some cases, possibly when the money equivalent of the house-sale would be insufficient for buying a plot in Athens or renting a flat

there, the island dowry house is rented, or shut up except during the summer visits. As the daughters of émigré families never, or hardly ever marry island men - I know of no cases - it seems that such marriages are thought to involve great disparity of status. The evidence for this view is inconclusive, for most young men leave the island for jobs before military service, and only return to Anaphi to farm family lands, if this proves worthwhile through marriage to an island girl with a dowry house and lands. A man is drawn back to the island in this way and is not likely to migrate permanently. He goes to Athens only for three months in the summer to work, which is, as I will show in Chapter Four, essential for the newly-established family household.

In her discussion of "Personal and Family Characteristics" Moustaka (1964) states, "all the 166 migrants whose marriages were contracted after migration took spouses living in the town, 49 per cent of whom were also born in the town." As she says elsewhere, "most of the migrants form small neighbourhoods in the various districts of the town . . . the friends of the migrants are mainly fellow villagers," it seems likely that many of the Zagorian and Parian migrant marriages in the city were with other migrant families, but she gives no details on the spouses' place of origin, and it is thus impossible to compare the

data.

The relationship between the island and émigré communities is, from the Athenian end, a cycle of varying involvement. Actual contact is greatest when the wives and children of city-dwellers go to the island for summer holidays, joined for a few weeks by the head of the family. This period reaches its climax at the monastery festival on September 8th, and up to 200 visitors and pilgrims celebrate the dedication feast and then crowd the steamer returning to the mainland. The influx of these émigré families naturally provides an opportunity for the islanders to see the material results and changes of attitude and behaviour in their relatives and other ex-villagers from their city life. Their own incomes and resources prevent them copying most of these ways in an island setting, and traditionalistic attitudes reinforced by public opinion militate against the adoption on any large scale of what they regard as "city behaviour".

At the time of the festival the school prizes are presented by the President of the Émigré Society. The best boy and girl pupil being given 500 drachmas each (about £6 at the time of fieldwork), and all the others receive notebooks, pencils and sweets; all these prizes come from a fund to which the émigrés contribute at various

parties and meetings of the Society during the year. In the president's speech the history and contemporary situation of Anaphi are specifically related to national life and urban setting. Island patriotism is asserted and affirmed. Members of the committee announce gifts and donations to school and church, and give public compliments to the village president and council members, the schoolmaster, the Abbot and other influential islanders. There are clear political motives behind such expressions of continued interaction between the high-status émigrés and the island. Some émigrés are involved in public life at influential levels (one was president of the Athenian Chamber of Commerce) and are thus in a position to attract more important patrons for themselves by acting as patrons to members of the island community and promising votes for one group, and work-chances or improvements to the other.

Politics are only one aspect of the city-island contact which is brought out strongly at this time. Summer is the time when émigrés with dead relatives return to perform the _kolyva_ ceremonies which are thought essential for the soul's well-being. (See Chapter Eight). They bring elaborate ornaments for the dish of _kolyva_, and distribute Athenian liqueurs and sweetmeats, using the occasion to display their improved financial position and the wider

range of goods which city life enables them to tap. By continued participation in these ceremonies émigrés place themselves in the island moral community as part of a system which relates parental-filial ties to names and property, and serves as a model for the continuance of Anaphiot society.

CHAPTER THREE

FORMAL AND INFORMAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The Formal Structure: the Council of the *Kinotis* of Anaphi

The *kinotis*, commune, of Anaphi belongs to the *eparchia* of Thira, which is administered from Phira, the main village of the island of Thira (Santorini). Thira is part of the *nomos* of the Cyclades whose administrative centre is the island of Syros. Directives to the commune of Anaphi from Thira or from the *nomarchos* on Syros are sent to the island's council of five men in office for a four-year term: a chairman, *proedros*, and four ordinary councillors, *symvouli*.

Campbell and Sherrard (1968) give an account of village council election procedures. They state that "the elections, held every four years, are contested between groups which are not necessarily extensions of the national parties, although some loose affiliation generally exists. The victorious faction gains four seats on the council but the fifth is reserved for the candidate of the minority party with the greatest number of votes. The five councillors then meet to elect one of their number as the village mayor" (p. 344).

This account tells how the system should work; on Anaphi

it certainly did not follow this pattern as there was quite clearly a council of three plus two, not four plus one. There were also conflicting local versions of the selection procedure for the position of _proedros_.

The _proedros_ during my fieldwork gave me the following account of the election procedure. The _proedros_ is not directly voted for, but emerges because he is the leader of the party securing the maximum number of votes. A man who stands for election can either aim for the position of _proedros_ or he can stand as an ordinary council member by supporting one of the candidates for the chairmanship. A candidate for _proedros_ canvasses the support of prospective councillors who are likely to get a large number of votes, while they in turn must decide whether to support him or to stand for _proedros_ and amass support for themselves. In the ballot the name of the candidate for the chairmanship of the council stands at the top of a list of his supporters. If this list gains more votes in all than any other list, he automatically becomes _proedros_, and those two of his supporters who receive the largest number of personal votes become councillors. These three men form the majority party.

The opposition party, _synthiasmos_, consists of the two men with the most votes from any other single list. The man whose name is at the top of their list not only loses his chance of being _proedros_ but cannot even be an ordinary member of the council.

However, I was given a different account of the election procedure by a former councillor. He said that the party with the most votes provides three councillors, the party with the next highest number of votes provides two. The councillors choose a _proedros_ from among themselves. If a councillor resigns, the next man on his party's list takes his place.

These puzzling different accounts are difficult to explain. The account given me by the _proedros_ was put in such a way that he avoided having to tell how he came to be chosen by his fellow councillors, and in a way which imputed more prestige to him as _proedros_ by an unambiguous popular vote. Perhaps the former councillor, a man who had resigned after an election, had his own motives for contradicting the _proedros_' version.

Councillors are not paid but the _proedros_ receives a 200 drachmas per year entertainments allowance. The village secretary, a permanent administrative appointment, attends council meetings, keeps the community register and receives a small salary.

At the time of fieldwork the _proedros_' party supported one of the more conservative national political parties, _ERE_, _Ethniki Rizospastiki Enosis_, the National Radical Union, while the other two councillors supported the Centre Union led by Papandreou. Although council members relate

their policies to those of these national political parties, the members of each party are grouped in opposition to the other faction in terms of island policies rather than on the basis of wider political issues. The national political parties serve as banners which differentiate the two factions of the Council.

<u>The work of the council</u>

I was unable to find out much about the powers and activities of the village council, the interplay of influence and ideas among the councillors, or the links with members of the émigré community who are, or have links with, officials in the administration, and support different party politicians. These aspects of life on Anaphi are topics which are subject to concealment and evasion, for no one wants others to know exactly what his resources are, the range of his friends and contacts, nor the schemes in which he is involved. They are also part of the male sphere of activities, so I was excluded because of my sex.

However, I was able to discover the topics discussed at one meeting of the council in the autumn of 1966. At this meeting the Council decided to limit the partridge shooting season in order to increase the number of birds. Summer visitors from Athens, particularly those who came for the Monastery festival in early September, considered part-

ridge shooting one of the main attractions of their visit, and a large number of birds were shot at this time of the year. The council decided to limit the open season to the autumn and early winter months. They also decided that the track running along the south coast of the island to the Monastery was in need of repair, a job which would be undertaken by island labourers, hired by the council, and paid for out of commune funds.

Besides these two matters, the council also dealt with an issue of current controversy. At an earlier meeting it had been decided that a request be made for a grant of 76,000 drachmas (about £900 at that time) from the Nomarcheion Bank, with which to open a road from the harbour to the neighbouring beach of Cleisithi. Three of the council approved this measure on the grounds that an easier land route to this beach, separated from the harbour by a rocky headland and reached either by boat or by a steep narrow track, would encourage its development by summer visitors. It was rumoured that support for the scheme had been encouraged, particularly by émigrés who owned land around the beach, by the promise of "gifts" of plots of land which the councillors could sell later when, with a finished road and consequent demand for plots to build summer cottages, the value of the site had appreciated.

One of the _proedros'_ party came out against the scheme because, it was said, of a personal grudge against him, while one of the opposition party supported the scheme. At the autumn meeting, however, the latter changed his mind and voted with his fellow opposition party member and the _proedros'_ enemy to block the scheme. His argument for changing his mind was that although the construction of the road and the building of the proposed cottages would have given steady employment to a number of islandmen over several summers, the scheme as a whole would mainly have enriched those with land around the beach. Feeling ran very high in the village when it was learnt that the scheme had been voted down, so high that heated discussions took place in the cafés, where I was asked for my opinion as to whether work for some, profits for a few, and more summer visitors would be a good or bad thing for the island as a whole.

As I have commented in the section on Methods of Study, it was very difficult to get detailed information about resources, whether economic or political, partly because any information, particularly about land ownership, patronage networks, political factions is valued, and concealed from anyone outside the nuclear family, and partly because men do not consider it appropriate to talk to a woman about such matters. It is only because the rejected

scheme aroused such unusually heated public reaction that I learnt about it at all. Through involvement in this dispute I managed to get hints of other past controversies.

One of these concerned the path from the village down to the harbour. Three years earlier, in 1963, when one of the present councillors of the proedros' party was himself proedros, a section from the edge of the harbour beach to halfway up the hillside had been widened, cobbled in some places, cemented in others, and bounded by a low wall with drainage holes for the winter rains to run off on to the hill terraces below. It was said that the funds requested by and granted to the council were sufficient to pay for materials and labour, to cement and wall the path all the way up to the village. The implications were made clear by my informants; either some or all of the councillors had misappropriated part of the funds, or some of the workmen had taken the cement and other materials for their own use, or both. As the notion of implicit self-interest permeates island life, it is not surprising that misappropriation of public funds is suspected, whether or not it actually occurs.

In the summer of 1967 the proedros asked me to take some photographs for him of the cemetery which, after a recent series of funerals and exhumations, was pitted with open graves and rotting coffins. Each time a service was

held there the villagers complained about the state of the cemetery but no one was willing to put in the unpaid labour to tidy it up. The proedros thought that the council should put in a request for funds from the Nomarcheion Bank to pay for clearing and cleaning up, but some councillors disagreed saying that the cemetery would soon revert to the same state, and the clearing up would be a waste of money. The proedros reacted to this disagreement by commenting that the Nomarcheion Bank should decide on the basis of the evidence provided by photographs of the cemetery. He then asked me to take the photographs. When I returned from a visit to Athens, during which I had the film processed, I gave him the prints and negatives of the views of the cemetery. "Tora tha thoume," "Now we'll see", he commented, as he addressed an envelope to the Nomarch of Syros. Unfortunately, later inquiries I made revealed nothing more of this affair, and I am inclined to think that the request for a grant was refused.

The councillors were clearly in a difficult position as regards public works. Nothing particular or positive of any kind could be done or initiated by them without allegations of it being to the advantage and profit of only one sector of the community, resident or émigré. The councillors were suspected by villagers and by each other of self-seeking, hoping to make a monetary or material profit through a

proposed policy, or at least of anticipating favours and support in the future from those whom the policy benefited. However many mutually opposed factions there might be, they would all unite in common opposition to any one faction proposing a particular scheme or policy.

The only things the council could carry out effectively were those of neutral content and obvious general benefit. For example, the current council had widened the path around the village and repaired the path to Milyes. The proedros said he aimed to complete the widening and cementing of the harbour path during his term of office. During the term of office of the current proedros, the council obtained a grant to build three public wells, thexamenes, with sinks for washing clothes, and animal drinking troughs. The rain water which fed these wells ran down from the paths and open hillsides so that the water could not be used for drinking. However, household water supplies could be conserved longer when used only for drinking and cooking, while washing and watering animals was done at the thexamenes. At times of drought when household cisterns were low, villagers had to go out to a spring in the cleft of the headland above the harbour, or else pay an old workman to bring up tins of water to replenish the cisterns. A scheme had been proposed to pump up water from this spring to a

series of taps in the village, but the Bank would not give the grant. Instead, the council had received a smaller sum of money with which to cement over the mouth of the spring and set in a metal cover to prevent the water from being contaminated.

The Composition of the council: the *proedros*

The *proedros*, Michaelis Gavallas, born in 1903, is a man of property and resources. He added to the garden land at Ayio Ianni, inherited from his father (who kept a café in Cairo around 1909), by buying the shares of most of his siblings. He then built an irrigation system and is able to grow a large number of vegetables and fruit trees. He employs one full-time workman to work this garden land and to tend the pigs, goats, sheep, rabbits, geese and ducks there. These resources provide a large proportion of his subsistence needs on the island and a surplus to distribute among his island kin, *koumbari*, and others, and to send to relatives, employees and other contacts in the city including his rent collector, and the president of the émigré society. His wife's dowry was a plot of land in Pankrati, a district near the centre of Athens. In 1958 the *proedros* built a five-storey block of flats on the site, from which he receives a steady income. He gave two of the flats to his two daughters as dowry. He also gets

rent from a warehouse in Piraeus. The house in which he lives with his wife had been her mother's, used as a summer cottage. It was a small, cramped, two-roomed house. The kitchen is taken up by a large paraffin refrigerator acquired from an American medical team; the one main room is too small to accommodate a double bed and has instead a divan couch with a pull-out truckle bed. To sit at the table one has to sit on the divan; to pull out the truckle bed one has to move the table into the kitchen doorway. No other village house I went into was so small and inconveniently arranged.

Most days the proedros goes out to his garden with his regular workman, doing odd jobs and making improvements to the property. In the summer he and his wife go down to the harbour to live in a boathouse inherited from his father. It is built back into the cliff and has room enough for two dinghies, and for a motor boat in which he travels to his garden. He also rents a storehouse and a workshop in the village. His younger son was killed in Cyprus on military service and only one of his three other children lives on the island. She is married to the schoolmaster, who comes from an émigré Anaphiot family. The proedros' other daughter is married to an important official in OTE, the Greek Telephone Company, and lives in her dowry-flat in

Athens. The older son has a business which makes quarrying machines. In a few instances known to me the proedros had been directly responsible for finding posts with his son and son-in-law for the children of island families.

In many respects his way of life differed little from that of other vigorous if elderly landowners on the island. He may have had his own reasons for making it seem so. But other aspects of his life were qualitatively different. He not only had better land and produce than Anaphiot farmers, but also capital goods of a "cosmopolitan" standard, influential business and personal contacts in Athens, and a large and regular income from real estate. He was undoubtedly an Anaphiot by island standards: name, land, behaviour; he also rated high by city and émigré standards: property, capital and consumer goods. The puzzle to me at the time was that he was rich and yet lived like a peasant; no one else thought this odd, to the islanders he was one of them, and rich besides.

The composition of the council: the proedros' supporters

The two councillors of the proedros' party have the same surname, Damigos, and are distantly related. The villagers talk about them as uncle and nephew.

Iannis Damigos, born in 1907, left the island to be a builder in Athens, but returned after he had broken his

leg to take up the job of praktor, ticket agent, for the steamer companies which covered the Anaphi route. He sells passenger tickets and fixes the price of luggage and other goods for transport. This means he has to be down at the harbour for the arrival of the steamer, and has an exact knowledge of all departing and arriving passengers and goods.

He also opened a café in a building rented from a migrant. After the Thira earthquake of 1956, which destroyed one windmill and damaged others on Anaphi, he had a diesel engine sent over from Athens and set up a milling machine. He built a kitchen, bedroom and saloni on to his wife's dowry house, and used the original main room and kitchen to house the machinery, grain and the ground flour. He charges 10 per cent for grinding grain and always has a stock of wheaten and barley flour for sale. His patrimonial lands at Vayia, - the fertile, gently sloping land on the west of the island, - are worked half-shares by his youngest brother. He is a chanter in the village church every Sunday. His only child is a ship's engineer, married and living in Athens.

Kyrios Iannis and his wife, Kyria Margarita, are a respectable couple, well off, much respected and conscious of displaying the more old-fashioned virtues. No one on Anaphi is ever free from adverse comment or criticism, but

public opinion about Iannis and his wife was no worse than amusement over their solid, even stolid qualities. I was not so much surprised to find a skeleton in their family cupboard - through an examination of the island register - as I was that I had never heard it mentioned. Kyrios Iannis' father was an older brother of Agapios Damigos, nicknamed _ourang-outangos_, who lived with a common-law wife in the northern part of the island; a man whose family honour had been lost through adultery, illegitimacy, madness and sudden death. Agapios was continually cited as an antithesis to all the Anaphiot moral virtues: _then drepetai_, he has no shame. No reference was ever made in my hearing to the close kinship link between Iannis and his uncle Agapios, and no attempt to discredit Iannis ever referred to his "shameless" kinsman. My interpretation is that the scandals attached to Agapios' family were too powerful and dangerous to use in daily squabbles and minor insults. The user would risk a turn of public opinion against himself for referring to the connection, particularly as Iannis has important resources in his mill, his ticket agency and his café. He can mass a good deal of support among his customers on issues he wants brought up on the council: he pressed for the _proedros_' scheme to widen the path to the beach near the harbour on the grounds

that it would give a period of regular employment to the workmen involved.

On the night of the military coup in April 1967 when the other cafés were sunk in gloom, Iannis danced between the tables of his own café to express his joy that his party "had come out on top", vyika to komma mou, and thus vindicated his own position in island affairs.

The other member of the proedros' party, Markos Damigos, known as "Markakis", born in 1920, is a small entrepreneur. At the time of fieldwork he sold potatoes and greens to other islanders from his patrimonial lands at Kaimeni Langatha; He also bought sheep and goats from shepherds, sold the meat to villagers and the dried skins to Athenian traders. He used to keep a grocery, but closed it in 1963 "because there were too many shops for the number of people." He was proedros at the time he kept the grocery; it may well have been a useful asset to his political position as it gave him the opportunity to make preferential sales to influential people when stocks were low, and to favour certain workmen to bring up supplies from the steamer. At the end of his term of office he was persuaded, so I was told, to support Gavallas, rather than putting up for proedros again, on the agreement that if Gavallas succeeded certain policies would be put through

which would be of benefit to Markakis, but which he could not propose if he were himself _proedros_. This agreement, so it was said, had not been kept, and hence he could be persuaded by the councillors of the minority party to support them in any issue which directly hit at Michaelis Gavallas. So, for example, he opposed the plan to widen the path to the beach near the harbour, standing against his "uncle" Iannis on this issue. On another occasion he persuaded Iannis to join him in opposing one of the _proedros_' plans, which provoked Gavallas to comment to his wife in my hearing that the "Damigides", uncle and nephew, were the biggest hindrances to the progress (_proódos_) and _proedros_ of Anaphi.

The composition of the council: _the minority party_

The two councillors who comprise the opposition party, _synthiasmos_, are both from non-Anaphiot families, and are regarded as left-wing in their allegiance to the Centre Union party and to the policies of Papandreou. One of the councillors is from a Cretan family, the other from a Cypriot family. Subsequent information counteracted my initial impression that the council was significantly composed of island conservatives and "foreign" liberals. Later on in fieldwork I got to know of two Anaphiots who had been left-wing councillors in previous councils; one had gone to Athens in the late fifties, the other was a fairly well-to-do

farmer aged sixty-seven. This information reached me after the military coup and I thought it unwise for me, and possibly dangerous for these Papandreou supporters, to seek them out and discuss island politics.

Georgios Rinakis was born in Rethimnon, Crete, in 1905. He joined the police force and was sent as a chorophylakas, constable, to Anaphi, where he married an island girl, Eirini Chalare, and set up home in her dowry house. His wife has garden lands at Vayia which are worked by a half-shares tenant, and some pasture land for which they receive cheese-rent. An unmarried cousin of Eirini left the Rinakis family grain terraces and olive trees in return for their care in his old age and the carrying out of funeral and memorial services for him. Thus, although he did not hold land through inheritance, Georgios had acquired most of the material and non-material criteria for being regarded as an Anaphiot: he held land and he observed the most important obligations concerning ritual and property. His support of the Centre Union Party is, however, part of his Cretan patriotism, for the party is often seen as having developed from that of Prime-Minister Venizelou, a Cretan. The saloni in his house is decorated with a plaque of the elder Venizelou and photographs of the younger Venizelou and of Papandreou. No attempt was made to conceal or remove these evidences of his political

sympathies after the military coup. In the winter of 1966 he was elected head of the Anaphiot co-operative, founded in 1957. This position involved him in collecting orders for fertilizers, insecticides, frames for honey-combs, and subsidized flour. These were sent over from the Agricultural Bank on Thira and the transport costs had to be added to the original price. Kyrios Georgios was very active in his duties and open about this calculations. He was eager to persuade the islanders to take advantage of the Agricultural Bank's various schemes, but his efforts were impeded by general distrust of the Bank. His work on the council was mainly concerned with improvements and developments for farmers and shepherds.

His fellow councillor is Kyriakos Antoniades, a café proprietor, born on Anaphi in 1916. His father was a Cypriot who married an island girl, he himself married the eldest daughter of a well-off landowner, being the preferred suitor from among a number of islanders. When two other suitors had quarrelled, Kyriakos intervened holding one of them back to prevent a fight. The other man knifed his rival, held powerless by Kyriakos. He was given a ten-years prison sentence, while Kyriakos was exonerated and won Maria Roussos for himself. His kinship links on the island are thus through his mother and his wife.

During his youth he worked in Piraeus in a café owned by the schoolmaster's father; through his contacts there his sister married a non-Anaphiot and went to live in Athens. Kyriakos works and sends her produce from her dowry fields which adjoin his own lands, also he works part of their mother's dowry lands. He divides his days between these and his wife's dowry lands, hiring a young married workman who is a customer in his café. His wife manages the café during the day and he takes over in the evenings. They are childless and well off; their olive crop yielded the second largest amount of oil on the island in the autumn of 1966; Kyria Maria is a skilled dressmaker, and their café can and does hold more customers than the other three .

Cross-cutting ties between councillors

As I have indicated, party affiliations on the council are often counteracted by personal quarrels. Similarly, there are ties linking councillors across the lines of political differences, as well as other kinds of ties uniting fellow-councillors. Rinakis and Antoniades have a double koumbaros relationship; Georgios Rinakis garlanded Kyriakos and Maria, Maris was koumbara to Georgios and Eirini. Kyriakos also has a kinship tie with Markos Damigos; Markos' brother, Theodorus, is married to Maria Antoniades' sister, so that Maria is Markos' nifi, here equivalent to

"sister-in-law". Iannis Damigos is godfather to Rinakis' elder daughter. The <u>proedros</u> also has a strong tie to the village secretary, being godfather to his second son.

I am not suggesting that the councillors are unique in possessing various sorts of relationships which link them within and across party lines. One could select almost any five islanders and trace a similar network of links and cross-cutting ties between them. For the councillors, however, these cross-cutting ties make the political base of the two factions less firm and give the opportunity for regroupings on particular issues. Regroupings are expressed not so much in terms of support for a course of action but rather as opposition to a rival scheme. Within the opposition there may well be disagreement as to the alternative course of action, but all are united in their eagerness to block anyone pursuing a plan which seems to be to his own advantage.

It is also clear that each member of the council has a certain control over particular resources, material and non-material, apart from those which are an essential aspect of his formal political role. The <u>proedros</u> is the most prosperous land owner on Anaphi, besides owning property in Athens; Markakis is an entrepreneur; Iannis Damigos owns a mill and runs a café. I have too little evidence to do more than suggest interconnections between the political

positions, the economic resources, and the power and influence of these councillors. As well as exercising these interrelated pressures on islanders they can also use them in their bids for support (or at least non-opposition) from each other. The councillors are bound to each other in a set of changing coincidences and divergencies of interest which prevent the play of solitary self-aggrandisement.

Informal political activity

Informal political activity - sounding out opinions and soliciting support for policies - is carried out not only between council members but in the chief centre for men's discussions and conversations, the cafés. There are four cafés in the village, two next door to each other on the northern side of the main path through the village, the other two side-by-side and nearly opposite on the southern side of the path. This area is known as ta paspirakia, the cobbles, and the term is used as a synonym for "the cafés". The four cafés cater for about 140 men between the ages of eleven and eighty-five.

The bachelors' café

Until he marries, a son, whatever his age, must behave respectfully in his father's presence; he cannot smoke, swear or relax with friends of his own age. The father, too, cannot feel entirely relaxed when his son is watching him.

For these reasons most unmarried men of all ages, particularly boys between 11 and 18 years, tend to patronize one particular café where they play cards and drink vanilya. This bachelors' café is run by a seventy-two year old woman, three times a widow and thus unable to marry again. She is clearly a most appropriate person to run this café: any man who did so would risk public ridicule, as would a younger woman.

The two major cafés

Most married men patronize the cafés run by Iannis Damigos and Kyriakos Antoniades. These two major cafés, run by councillors of opposing parties, are centres for supporters of these parties, either at the island or the national level. Each proprietor provides the newspapers which reflect the views of his own national political party. Thus the patrons of a particular café are given certain kinds of information and interpretations of events through the selection of newspapers and radio programmes, and through the proprietor's comments on the national and international scenes. Café proprietors are indeed "information controllers", as Stycos (1952) terms those who own radios, select the programmes, and control the time of use (to conserve the batteries), but on Anaphi they are also "leaders of opinion", a term which he reserves for the schoolmaster and the priest of the village near Salonika in

which he studied patterns of communication. Café proprietors on Anaphi also interpret in a more literal sense; they translate posters and documents written in official Greek, katharevousa, into demotic Greek, and at the same time add their own opinions of the political significance and implications. They control information and attempt to influence the opinions of their clientele in order to gain support in council politics. Just as councillors may form an interim faction in common opposition to a particular scheme, so the support given to a councillor-café proprietor may be based more on antagonism to his rivals than agreement with his own policy. A café proprietor cannot be sure that those who patronize his café and support him on one issue will continue to do so when a different issue comes up. Any villager tends to spend his spare time at one rather than the other of the two main cafés, but he does not have an exclusive loyalty to one café and café-proprietor. From time to time he patronizes the other main café, perhaps for motives connected with current or prospective issues on the council, perhaps to show his opposition to someone at his usual café, perhaps to seek for a labouring job, or for a workman (depending on his age and stage in the domestic cycle, and the season), or perhaps, as Gearing suggests in his

discussion of contractual forms of technical order relationships (Gearing, 1964), it is because men "keep company"- parea - with each other intensively for brief periods interspersed with changes to other parea as a device "to reduce the stultifying monotony of village life" (Gearing, 1964: pp 17-18). I am inclined to think the changes of parea Gearing observed involve other considerations besides a desire for a change of company, such as gathering information, sounding out opinions and soliciting support, but I am willing to admit that changes in café attendance on Anaphi may not always be motivated by political self-interest.

The old men's café

The fourth café is mostly patronised by late middle-aged and elderly men. The proprietor, Athanasios Vafiades, known as Thanasi, born in Northern Greece in 1907, came to Anaphi in the 1930s as a political exile. He married an island girl and later moved to Athens. His wife and children now live and work in Athens but he spends only the hardest part of the winter there, from November or December, returning to Anaphi in March or April to open the café and to oversee work on his wife's dowry lands, the olive groves on the slopes below the village and a vineyard near the chapel of Christos tou Stavrou. He opens his café earlier in the morning than the other proprietors in order to catch

one or two customers for coffee on their way out to the fields. His evening clientele are usually old men to whom he reads newspaper articles and for whom he writes letters. Younger men, both workmen and farmers, the policemen, the schoolmaster and the proedros come to his café from time to time, but not regularly. His café is rarely crowded or noisy, qualities which attract a small group of regulars who come to enjoy a sit, a smoke, an unhurried chat, and occasionally to transact business in a quiet atmosphere, away from home and women's questions.

Émigrés and islanders in the cafés

In the summer his café is often chosen by holiday-makers from the émigré community in Athens for informal parties. The two main cafés are usually full but occasionally they are "booked" for the celebration of a name-day or a christening, but Thanasi's café is spacious, uncrowded and, being on the south side of the main village path, has a large terrace on the seaward side, not visible from the path, where parties and dancing can take place without being too much overlooked. While the other café proprietors have relatives in Athens, Thanasi and his family live there and have many contacts. Summer visitors thus tend to choose his café for its position and facilities, but also because they know Thanasi and he knows them and is familiar with city life and city tastes. The holiday-makers spend the evening

listening to the _tsabouna_, island bagpipes, drinking and eating a succession of light snacks. Such a gathering is a typical way of spending an evening elsewhere in Greece. To the Anaphiots it is out of the ordinary, particularly as the wives and daughters of the émigrés join the party. The island women who are brought along by their city relatives are unsure of their position and sit in a group at one side of the café. The men who proposed the evening's entertainment share the cost of the food and drink, and the musicians' fees, or they agree to let one man pay on the understanding that the others will take care of some subsequent party. There is a lack of calculation in monetary terms, a notion of long-term reciprocity, and an idea of easy generosity in the émigrés' dealings with each other while on Anaphi, all of which contrast markedly with the islanders' usual café manners. The émigrés do not only behave like this on Anaphi; they often buy drinks for each other and one man will settle the bill for a _parea_, a group of friends, after evenings out at cafés and restaurants in the Athenian suburbs. The islanders rarely buy drinks for each other, the usual practice being for each man to buy his own, even when in a group playing cards or discussing some matter. At home, however, islanders offer guests the customary glass of _tsikouthya_, a spirit distilled from

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trodden grapes, and a cake or sweetmeat. In the winter parties held on name-days are celebrated with wine and snacks of pork sausage; relatives, friends and neighbours are invited, men sit round the table, women and children round the sides of the room, and as the evening progresses songs and dances get louder, longer and more boisterous. I am not trying to argue that Anaphiots are inhospitable or ungenerous, but am trying to point out that café life and manners are not the same as in other parts of Greece and that arguments that have been put forward (Stycos, 1952; Photiadis, 1965) about coffee houses in N.E. Greece may not be applicable to those on Anaphi. My own experiences in mainland Greece, on other Cycladic islands, in the Dodecanese and in Crete, suggest that in these places it is part of a Greek man's definition of himself to be hospitable and generous to travellers, and particularly to foreigners. <u>Philoxenia</u>, hospitality, is involved in <u>philotimo</u>, self-esteem and reputation. The stranger is automatically a guest, given the best food even at the expense of emptying the larder, and the best entertainment even if it means concealing a recent death in the family. On Anaphi it seems that there is no concept of the stranger as guest. Few real <u>xeni</u>, strangers, come to the island. The émigrés have their kinsmen and <u>koumbari</u>;

visiting administrative officials, the school inspector, the chief of police, attach themselves to the local representative of their organization who has a regular salary and is under no great financial strain in entertaining such a visitor. Those who fit neither of these categories, having no kin or official body to define them and take care of them, such as the rare tourist in search of an untouched island, or archaeologists who wish to visit the ancient city and the temple of Apollo, are viewed with suspicion and caution. No one comes forward to offer them refreshment or accommodation, no one wants to answer their questions. This apparent lack of _philoxenia_ seems to me to stem from the lack of an accepted pattern of behaviour towards _xeni_. As there is no generalized role of _xenos_ as stranger and guest, there is a poorly developed role of host. Once the _xenos_ defines himself by producing, for example, a letter of introduction from one of the Schools of Archaeology to the schoolmaster, or from a government department to the _proedros_, or can be defined as being some particular person's responsibility because of a particular interest, - goat-skins, church architecture, wild flowers, for example, suggesting a particular shepherd or grocer, the Abbot, and the schoolmaster, - the islanders know how to behave towards him because they know with whom

he is now associated.

This still leaves the problem of café manners between the islanders themselves. The generosity shown at winter parties does not extend to the cafés, each man buying his own and rarely offering to buy for someone else; and it is rare that he is offered a drink by another. Non-islanders, such as the policemen, buy each other drinks and occasionally order and pay for refreshments for those with whom they are conversing. Another non-islander, the doctor, who remains in his house all winter and goes sea-bathing in the height of summer, once entered the café on his return from a bathe and, without ordering anything for himself, stood drinks for everyone in the café. "I am a rich man, to me this is nothing" he commented. Whatever the doctor's motives were, this incident gave rise to remarks showing that the Anaphiots viewed buying drinks for others as displaying an attitude of ostentation and patronage, creating an obligation in the recipient. At a celebration in the home the host is in a superior position and places his guests in his debt; in the café, where men meet ostensibly as equals, there can be no suggestion of inequality, even though the cost of most drinks is one drachma (about 3d at that time) representing 1/50th of a day's labouring wage.

The cafés are lively places in the summer when the holidaying émigrés hold their parties or just sit talking to old island friends. An émigré having a summer cottage built down by the harbour or at Cleisithi will buy drinks for the workmen when various stages of the construction are completed. In doing this he is as much following island customs as he is displaying city manners, for an islander takes a flask of his own wine and some homemade sweetmeats to builders, to labourers at harvest-time or to olive-pickers, so that they can wish him _kalo riziko_, "good foundations", or _kai tou chronou_, "and the same next year".

When the holiday-makers have gone and the seasonal migrant labourers return from their summer jobs in the city the tone of conversation and activity in the cafés returns to a low key. Men playing cards or the board-game _tavli_ display neither disappointment nor pleasure at the outcome of the game, in strong contrast to the Cretan policemen stationed on the island, who throw down their cards in mock fury or with shouts of triumph. Major points of international and national news are brought up in conversation between café customers and given general discussion, but conversation usually concerns island farming and shepherding matters. An evening in the café tends to focus on the weather and market reports rather than on the news broadcasts.

Social differences

When asked to differentiate island families in terms of possessions or influence, Anaphiot informants usually reply "we are all the same". By this they mean that all islanders are subject to the same conditions, such as the vagaries of wind and weather and the consequent effect on crops, pasturage and water supplies, and the delays and difficulties of contact and communication with other islands and the mainland. Only after listing the conditions shared by all will an informant admit to differences between islanders in the amount of land held, in the size and fittings of the house, in the earning capacity of the household head through his technical skill, strength or other resources, and in personal characteristics. By starting with similarities the informant stresses the unity of the resident Anaphiot population against the outside world, in outlining the sort of differences he sees between island households he gives a clue to standards of mutual evaluation, and the bases of influence and reputation. A man's status, that is, his own view of himself and others' view of him, takes into account his age, his generational position, the stage which the domestic cycle of his natal family, or of his family of marriage, has reached.

For example, informants refer to a farmer with large land-holdings and other property which came to him as an only child, thus getting not only undivided lands but also property which would usually go to daughters, so that he had more than most fathers with which to dower his own daughters. They also refer to a man who is still a wage-labourer in his late middle-age, with a wife who still goes olive-picking along with young recently-married women. They refer too, occasionally, to a farmer with large land holdings at Drepanos whose economic standing is high, but whose social standing is very low because of a series of family scandals. These references indicate the difficulty both for the islanders and for an observer of establishing a single-criterion rating scale. A man's possessions, activities and actions, style of dress and speech, way of life, the behaviour of other members of his family, all are evaluated according to a generally held ideal of what economic standing and social position a man should hold at particular stages in his life. I shall examine these criteria of evaluation in details in Chapters Four, Six and Seven; sufficient here to say that there is an implicit general consensus among islanders on the criteria of evaluation and the balance of these in assessing particular households.

There is a conflict for most islanders between

FIGURE 5

Classification of Households by Economic Standing

(taken from voting register)

Type of Household	Classification			Totals	
	Kali	Metria	Kaki		
MARRIED COUPLES					
with children	2	49	18	69	
children married	8	4	4	16	
childless	3	3	-	6	
	(13)	(56)	(22)	(91)	91
WIDOWS					
with children	1	-	2	3	
with unmarried kin	-	2	-	2	
living alone	4	2	9	15	
	(5)	(4)	(11)	(20)	
WIDOWERS	-	3	-	3	34
SPINSTERS	1	2	1	4	
BACHELORS	1	4	2	7	
TOTALS	20	69	36	125	125
PERCENTAGES	16%	56%	28%	100%	

concealing details such as crop yields and summer wages, and revealing enough to establish himself as a good provider for his family and as an advantageous partner for someone seeking a relationship of mutual obligation. If he reveals too much he may become involved in claims from kin and koumbari. There is also the fear that exact knowledge of his resources may lead to admiration, which will involuntarily summon the power of to mati, the Eye or Evil Eye, to cause illness, blight and other misfortunes, or to envy which brings about disasters and damage through deliberate malicious feelings. Thus it was difficult for me to get details of land-holdings, crop yields and other resources.

Some data is available, however, in the categories to which each household is assigned in the village register. Each household is given one of three categories of "economic standing" ikonomiki katastasi, good, medium or poor, - kali, metria, kaki. I think it unlikely that the islanders know anything about this assessment of their households by the village secretary. I am not sure of the criteria of assessment he used, but I think the purpose of the assessment was to define eligibility for state aid in the form of pensions and other grants. If this is so, then the categories would best be translated as "well off, not likely ever to need state aid", "well off but might need aid", and "in need of state aid". (See Figure 5 facing).

When I first discovered that the secretary had made a threefold categorization of island households I thought it might serve as an example of a subjective view of their relative positions. As a crosscheck I asked the schoolmaster to comment on this rating. He refined the term _metria_ into lower, middle and upper divisions, then upgraded seven households from the secretary's classification "poor" to his own category "middle medium", two from "poor" to "lower medium" and one from "poor" to "upper medium". He upgraded one household from "medium" to "good". He downgraded one household from "good" to "middle medium". These reclassifications enlarged the number of "medium" households and decreased the number of "poor", leaving the "good" households in the same proportion (17 per cent) to the whole as in the secretary's classification.

The register also assigns an occupational label to the household head: _ktimatias_, landowner; _yeogos_, farmer; _ergatis_, workman; _pimin_ (on Anaphi _tsobanis_), shepherd. Regular salary earners such as the schoolmaster, the Abbot and the post-office clerk are listed by their professions, although they are also landowners. In some cases one of several occupations is listed, as where the fishermen who also run a flourmill are listed as millers, while another miller who is also a café-proprietor is listed as _kafedzis._ The choice of one rather than another occupation seems to

have something to do with pension and state benefit schemes, but I could get little information on this point.

I tried to correlate the age and listed occupation of 105 male household heads with the economic category assigned to their household. The large "medium" category, 71 men, 68 per cent of the total, makes it difficult to extract possible variables from this data alone. Fourteen men (13 per cent of the total) whose economic standing is classified as "good" are government employees, active or on pensions, and elderly land-owners who employ wage-labourers and engage half-shares tenants to work their lands. The schoolmaster, post-office clerk, <u>proedros</u>, Abbot, and the two councillor/café proprietors, Damigos and Antoniades, are in this category.* The "poor" category consists of 20 men (19 per cent of the total), some of whom are wage-labourers, some shepherds, middle-aged and elderly men still acting as workmen even though they also own some land, and old men on state pensions.

Neither the "good" nor "poor" category includes any artisans such as smiths, masons or carpenters, who are all classed as "medium", as are most young and early middle-aged men. This exercise at correlation confirmed my

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* The large land-owner with the shameful family history is rated as of "good" economic standing.

impressions that on the whole economic rating depends on occupation and behaviour at various stages in the domestic developmental cycle. Most men start off their married lives with few resources and little capital; it is up to individual initiative to make the best of skills and opportunities. Households at this early stage of the cycle seem to be classified as "medium" as a device to suspend judgment until the household grows and develops and there is more data for evaluation. A man who by late middle-age has inherited his patrimony and developed his resources skilfully tends to be classed as "medium" because he has fulfilled island expectations of the normal pattern of the domestic cycle. If he has vastly increased his holdings and employs workmen he is classed as "good"; if he has not followed the pattern, even through no lack of energy but because of crop failures, a sickly wife, a family of daughters, (factors which affect his reputation and are thought to be in some way his fault), he is classed as "poor".

The main divisions of Anaphiot society are, according to this rough and tautologous classification, an upper group of professional men, officials, landowners, and exceptionally successful farmers; a middle group of artisans, young farmers, shepherds and workmen, men with special skills or other particular sources of income; and a lower group

consisting of middle-aged and elderly workmen, farmers with small land-holdings, shepherds with little or no land, and old men on state pensions.

The upper group, the *kali*

Members of this category can often be distinguished on formal occasions by their dress (suits, collars and ties), and by the fact that on informal occasions they do not wear caps as all farmers, workmen, fishermen and shepherds do. There are also clues to their position in the deferential behaviour of others towards them. For example, a stall is offered in church, a chair found in a crowded café, at a nameday celebration or christening party a seat will be given in the centre of the main table.

The schoolmaster, the Abbot, the policemen, the village councillors are seen as a group representing different aspects of one vaguely defined institution in which are combined the powers and restrictions of local government, the educational system, the parts of the civil and criminal code which are relevant on the island, and the force of religious rules and sanctions. The church, school, council and police force are known to be separate institutions, but their members are believed by most islanders to scheme and organize among themselves for particular purposes which will increase their influence and give them

access to money or goods. They are believed to be heavily committed to each other through ties of mutual obligation in these schemes. Plans for village improvements, the building of communal wells, the cementing of the path to the harbour are seen by the islanders not as undertakings to help the whole community, but as schemes by which this upper group can exercise and consolidate power. The organizers of an improvement scheme have the say in choosing workmen to carry out the job, the chance of appropriating materials for their own use, and the opportunity to divert funds into their own pockets. It is thus to the interest of any islander to co-operate with _i kali_. It is to his interest to remain on good terms with the police who can find irregularities in his identity card, or work permit, and prevent him from going to Athens for seasonal work; it is to his interest to support the _proedros_ or one of the councillors who have influential contacts in the city; it is to his interest to offer his labour to a large landowner who can give him work later when jobs are scarce; it is to his interest not to antagonize the Abbot who, besides controlling access to vital religious ceremonies, is also in charge of the Monastery estates and flocks. Men who are influential on Anaphi are those with the greatest benefits in terms of economic resources, or the use of their networks, to bestow or withhold. They are

landowners who employ labourers, officials who can speed bureaucratic processes and interpret directives to suit the particular individual and situation, those with control over resources subject to periodic shortages, such as grain and oil, and those with monopolies of other resources and skills.

The widest definition of the political scene on Anaphi thus includes those who have jobs to give, and those who have their labour to sell or have special skills which can be used to grant a favour. It also involves those who are able to help other men obtain these favours and other benefits through networks of both island and mainland contacts.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF ISLAND LIFE

The two main aspects of economic life on Anaphi, farming and sheep-rearing, are respectively internally and externally oriented. Farming provides subsistence needs, *ladhi ke psomi*, bread and oil, for each household, while sheep and goats are reared for sale and export to other islands and to the mainland. Figures of land use (Greek National Statistical Service Records consulted in Athens) show that more than half the total area of the island is used for animal pasturage and about one-eighth for agriculture. The total area of the island is given as 38,000 stremmata or 9,500 acres. 21,000 stremmata, about 5,000 acres, is grazing land, and 4-5000 stremmata, about 1,000 acres, is farmed. Mountain tops and barren slopes all across the island provide grazing for sheep and goats, but the northern and eastern areas of the island are almost entirely given over to flocks. The lower mountain sides and hill slopes are terraced for grain, vines, olives and fig trees; the more gently sloping land is used for fruit and vegetable gardens.

Shepherds remain on the island all year round, while most farmers leave after the harvest in June for summer seasonal work in Athens as builders' labourers. Fishing,

usually a spring-to-autumn activity, is a means of livelihood for only four islanders. They sell their catch to villagers and to summer visitors, and occasionally to visiting fishing boats with refrigerated holds so that the fish can be resold in the Piraeus fish-market. The island fishermen also act as boatmen all the year round, transporting goods and passengers to the weekly steamer.

Working Men

The resident island population of 394 individuals (January 1967) lives in 125 households, 101 of which have male household heads. Ten of these men are unable to work by reason of age or physical incapacity and thus the remaining 91 men compose the "active males" whose occupations, age and stage in the domestic cycle I shall analyse later. There are a few adult unmarried men still living in the parents' house, some bachelors living alone: the former are not included in the figure of "active males", while the latter are. My definition of "active males" in terms of "head of a household", even if this is a one-person household, reflects the islanders' own definition of an economically active adult man.

Links outside the island

The islanders describe Anaphi as an island "far from God" - makria ap' to Theo - but it is not the isolated

community which this description of Anaphi as a godforsaken place makes out. The island is tied in with the national and the international economy, a fact which the islanders recognize in other contexts. Livestock is exported, subsistence and consumer goods are imported; the domestic cycle involving delayed land inheritance relates to the export of seasonal labour, the farming year is geared to this summer migration, the shepherding year is focussed on the sale of livestock for export. Although this chapter deals mainly with the internal economy from an inside point of view, it makes clear the connection between the insufficiency of the internal economy in supplying adequate subsistence, and the island's links to the external markets for goods and labour. Anaphi is both "godforsaken" _and_ part of the economic life of the Cycladic islands and the rest of Greece.

Before describing the agricultural and shepherding cycles, I want to stress the importance of land and of land-holding in the island community.

Land-holding and the value of land.

Land-holding is one of a number of criteria for belonging to the island community. Land can be acquired in a number of ways, including inheritance, purchase, renting and half-shares tenancies. The most important for the

purpose of being defined as an Anaphiot is to hold land through inheritance from father to son. The inheritance of land links the generations of each family because the transmission of property is associated with a pattern of naming, (see Chapter Seven). Moral and religious obligations are involved in the possession of land by men and of houses by women. Ownership gives them rights in turn over members of succeeding generations to whom the property will pass. A man who holds land on Anaphi is part of this cycle of rights and duties. He is linked to past generations of his family and to the sequence of male land-holders. His own name, the adequate entitlement to inheritance, is said to "resurrect" his ancestors, particularly his grandfather, his namesake, whose bones are interred in an ossuary close to his lands.

The importance of land-holding makes clear the reasons why most island men define themselves as farmers even though they may not themselves work on their own lands, but employ labourers. A man who has a specialist role or a source of income greater than subsistence agriculture still defines himself first as a farmer, then as a glazier, blacksmith or café proprietor. These "gentlemen farmers", as well as the men who do work their own lands, stress their land-holding credentials as incontrovertible criteria for belonging to the Anaphiot community.

There are a few men, however, who do not define themselves primarily as land-holders. These are islanders in official positions: the village president (proedros), the village secretary (grammateas), the Abbot (igoumenos), the school-master (thaskalos), and the post-office clerk (tachydromikos ipallelos). They refer to themselves and are referred to in terms of these positions. All of them hold land inherited in the male line, they employ labourers for most farming jobs but carry out some estate work themselves. I have argued that other islanders who have specialist roles still define themselves primarily as land-holders because of the importance of this as a criterion for island membership. The few in institutional and administrative jobs regard these positions as of primary importance because they carry salary, usually a pension, and imply and create influence and status. They are not only Anaphiots (an assured definition because they hold land), but they are also linked to the important institutions and administrative hierarchies of the Greek nation. Besides being a badge of membership, land has a value as an ultimate security, a means of subsistence when all else fails. Islanders refer to the World War II and Greek civil war years as a period when many émigrés, some of them prosperous business men, returned to Anaphi "where they were sure of bread", rather than chance the privations and black market conditions in Athens. Present-day émigrés may

abandon land or rent their lands to half-shares tenants but they seldom sell all their fields just in case changing political conditions or other unforeseen circumstances force them back to the island. By retaining some title to land they also retain their claim to belong to the Anaphiot community. This claim is further validated by return visits to the island to carry out memorial ceremonies for dead relatives, and saints' day services in family chapels.

Land-holding is almost essential to the definition of Anaphiot, but there are a few islanders, mainly shepherds, who do not possess any land. Notwithstanding this, they are still incontrovertibly Anaphiots, born on the island and bearing characteristic island names and surnames. However, they are generally of lower status than islanders who are farmers. Assessment of a particular shepherd's status depends on his age, his family's stage in the domestic cycle, the size of his flock, the number of households from whom he rents grazing land, and the number of meat merchants who buy from his flock. A prosperous young shepherd rates higher than an elderly islander still acting as a wage-labourer. Land-holding is thus not an absolutely essential criterion for being an Anaphiot but it is a conclusive one.

There is considerable variation amont those who call themselves farmers: in the size and quality of their holdings and whether these are inherited, bought, rented for cash or

rented for half-shares of the crop; in their use of paid labour or in the amount of time they spend working for others; and in the time they spend using special skills. Only one islander, the <u>proedros</u>, employs a regular workman all year round. Some farmers choose the same labourers each year to plough, dig, plant, prune or harvest. Others pay the owner of draught cattle to plough their land and they then sow and harvest their own land with family and reciprocal help. Others use their own animals, usually donkeys, for ploughing, and work all their fields themselves. Donkeys as draught animals give a shallower furrow and hence, it is claimed, the crop yield is not as great as when cattle pull the plough.

<u>Farmers as workmen and as employers</u>

Of the 60 men who describe themselves as farmers, 11 regularly employ day-labourers, and 24 spend the major portion of their time working for day wages. These figures, based on personal knowledge and observation, are approximate; also they do not take into account the informal systems of mutual aid which may involve payment. The islanders differentiated between this type of reciprocal help or preferential labour "given as a favour" (<u>chatirikos</u>) and wage-labour, seen by both parties as a contractual relationship. A labourer may have to choose between employers, particularly at harvest time, or when he has a

skill or a scarce resource for which there is competition. Preference for a relative, koumbaros, or neighbour builds up a relationship of obligation. The critical element is that in offering labour to a neighbour, the labourer arranges the working days to suit the other's plans, and can then only offer unallocated days to any other potential employer. This latter contractual relationship does not contain the element of obligation because the labourer works the days which suit himself rather than those which suit the employer. It is thus not the payment which distinguishes employment from help, but the recognition that in "help" there is the obligation to adapt to the needs of others who have established claims to preferential labour.

Land may have a value as an ultimate security and source of subsistence, but most island households are not able to subsist on the proceeds of subsistence farming. Most men go as seasonal migrants to work as builders' labourers in Athens from June to September. Their wages are necessary for providing full subsistence and buying consumer goods, and for saving towards daughters' dowries and purchase of land and livestock to increase sons' inheritance. A further source of income is specialist roles.

The importance of special skills and specialist roles

I mentioned above that most island men define themselves primarily as farmers even when they have specific skills and

additional occupations which provide a fairly large source of income. A man who has a special skill as a blacksmith or glazier, for example, not only offers his skilled work in return for payment in a contractual relationship, but can also offer his services to particular customers in preference to others in return for their preferential services, such as taking his olive crop for pressing before someone else's. The relationships built up in connection with the specialist role also affect, and are affected by, his other roles. There are few specialists in any particular skill; for example, in the village there are two blacksmiths, one glazier, one carpenter, one master-whitewasher, two flourmill-owners, and two olive press owners. Also in the village are men with other types of specialism; one who makes spindles, another who weaves stiff-brimmed harvesting hats, and one who makes rush baskets for cheese. Each specialist thus has a virtual monopoly. He can give or withhold his services at times of demand, and in situations of choice between employers or customers. Other villagers, that is potential employers, cannot afford to offend or quarrel with the only specialist in an activity which they are likely to require at some time during the year, or certainly over a period of years. Respect is not only accorded to those who can command a high day-wage for their special skill (smithing, for example) or for their particular capital investment (draught cattle

which can be hired for ploughing). Villagers are also careful not to antagonise the few men who play musical instruments for the singing and dancing at name-day parties, christenings and weddings. Although none of the musicians is a large land-holder or of outstanding influence or prestige, each has a measure of influence in his other roles because of the specialist services he can bestow or withhold.

It is clear that the important factor in specialist roles is the ability to involve others in relationships of obligation. Two further examples will illustrate the way in which the relationships created through a man's specialist role influence, and are themselves affected by, his other roles.

Two of the _cafeneion_ proprietors are members of the village council; one, Iannis Damigos, is of the _proedros_' party which supports the national political party of Stefanopoulos; the other man, Kyriakos Antoniades, is of the minority party which is pro-Papandreou. Each man is a land-holder and employs labourers. In addition, Iannis Damigos owns a flour-mill and sells tickets for the steamer company, from whom he gets a small salary and commission. Each man influences and focuses the opinion of his clientele both because of his role as café proprietor,

kafedzis, a position which controls and relays information and, because of his elective role, as village councillor, *symvoulos,* which gives him a part in policy and decision making and access to direct and indirect influence over people and organisations. Both roles involve networks of influence and the ability to sound out and mass opinion. Through the acknowledged status and influence of these roles each man can make sure that, for example, he always has labourers at harvest-time, or gets preferential service at the olive press, so that his other roles and activities are successfully supported.

My second example concerns shopkeepers. Grocers can give credit and lend money; they buy livestock and skins for resale, and they purchase small local surpluses such as eggs and vegetables. They sell preferentially when supplies are low, they choose between the rival boatmen and donkeymen who bring their stocks from the steamer. Through being grocers they are able to involve others in relationships of obligation, and these debts to them are often repaid in respect of another role: for example, the chosen donkeyman will fit in with the grocer's plans for transporting bags of seed potatoes out to a field storehouse. It is interesting to note that the previous village president, Markos Damigos, now a councillor, kept a grocery during his term of office but shut it up when he ceased to be *proedros*.

This strongly suggests that the grocery was a means of creating ties of indebtedness which were valuable to him in his political role.

Other examples of combinations of activities show that the range of skills and the different economic activities of one man influence his total position in island life. A man who farms his own land may also own draught cattle which he hires out, and he may also be a master carpenter; the village secretary is a farmer who also plays the mandolin for dancing; a fisherman-boatman also owns a flour-mill. Each of these men is assessed in terms of all his activities and the associated and interconnected relationships of mutual dependence and alternating obligation which are tied to each one. Evaluation, as we have seen, also depends on the man's age and stage in the domestic cycle. There is a complex relationship between economic activities, stage in the domestic cycle, self-definition, and public assessment and evaluation of economic and social status.

Land-ownership

Most islanders who own land received it through inheritance, and most younger farmers are potential successors to land. Land is also bought and sold, rented for cash and worked on a half-shares basis by tenant farmers. Thus, although most farmers have a core of 'family' land, or work as half-share tenants the land which they will one day

inherit, they also have other categories of land.

<u>Bought land</u>: Twenty-two of the ninety-one 'active' male household heads are known to have bought land to add to an existing or anticipated estate and to ensure adequate shares for sons. Very often this purchased land belonged to émigré siblings.

A number of women said that their dowry lands had been bought for them by their parents rather than coming from their mother's dowry lands. It is thought more important that sons should inherit land from the family estate so that land already in the possession of the household is reserved for them. Men often referred to their obligations to save money to buy houses and lands for daughters' dowries, so they did not expect always to have enough through the wife's dowry to hand on to daughters. Men with 'stolen' wives - that is, girls who eloped and married without parents' consent,-do not expect to get dowry-lands (although their daughters may gain possession of the mother's lands later), so this is another incentive to gain land through purchase.

Land purchase can thus be considered as an attempt to consolidate holdings which are fragmented by dowry and inheritance, and as investments for future dowries. The capital for purchased land is accumulated over years of working for wages on the island and in Athens, from the sale or rent of houses or outbuildings, and supplemented by loans from other islanders at 10 per cent interest rate.

Half-shares tenancies: Thirty-three men work lands on a half-shares basis for elderly parents, émigrés or retired farmers. The sharing takes into consideration which party provides seed, fertilisers and additional wage-labour. Usually the land-owner is expected to pay for fertilisers and whoever provides the seed for planting takes this amount from the harvest before dividing the remainder. Oil is shared half and half after 10 per cent has been given to the owners and operators of the olive press. Some of the produce of half-shares tenancies is actually sent to Athens if the owner is an émigré, but usually it is stored for their use during summer visits. One farmer explained that émigrés were not concerned to get a strict half share from their lands but only to prevent the fields from running wild. Émigré owners know that there is little incentive for the tenant to take extra care and trouble when he only receives half the produce. Émigrés prefer to be sent cheese and other island specialities and rely on their tenants to provide goods and services during summer visits in exchange for a slack sharing arrangement.

Redistributed land: Fifty-seven men also hold land through the Society for Landless Men, Synetairismos ton Aktimonon. This association was responsible for the distribution of the lands of two of the three untenanted monasteries on the island which became available in 1956. The holdings were assigned by lot and a nominal rent of 55

drachmas per holding was paid to the Society. Records showed that the rent had in fact been paid only in the first year of the scheme, although it was said to be an annual rent. From an examination of the register of members I received the impression that many of those listed were not strictly 'landless' but were sons of large families with a consequently small share of the parental estate, fathers of large families, or husbands of 'stolen' and hence dowry-less wives. The rights to work these lands are heritable but if the holder is childless they return to the Association for redistribution.

None of the islanders referred to this source of land or specified which of their holdings had been obtained in this way. As most of them had held these ex-monastery lands for about ten years, they may possibly have begun to regard them as their own. On the other hand, acknowledgment of this type of land-holding might be regarded as an admission of inability to become self-sufficient by independent effort.

Categories of land associated with the household

The land worked by any one household is thus scattered in separate plots over the island. Some fields are the husband's share of his parents' estate; some are fields given to the wife on her marriage as part of her dowry. Sometimes a wife inherits land on her parents' death when

they retained it for their own use. Sometimes a man gets a share of his parents' land when he marries, particularly when his wife has no dowry lands and little chance of getting any. This anticipated inheritance was called the man's 'dowry', prika, and I sensed that there was a hidden slight to the girl and her parents' inability to dower her properly. Some land is rented for cash or worked half shares usually for émigrés, and some is acquired through the Society for Landless Men.

The fragmentation of land-holdings follows from this practice of succession to land by sons on their father's death and provision of dowry lands for women (ideally from their mother) at marriage. Dowry-lands are seen as a daughter's share of the family estate which is given at her marriage in order to support the couple and their children until the husband inherits his share of land at his parents' death. As we have seen, this pattern of delayed acquisition of land fits in with the role of younger men as day-wage labourers and half-share tenants. The system of equal sibling shares distributed over time is a method of retaining land for the parents and also establishing the newly-married couple.

A typical biography

A generalised biography of a hypothetical but typical islander makes clear what the standards of judgments are

in the islanders' assessment of their own and others' economic activities.

A young unmarried man contributes his labour to his parents' estate, working as a farmhand and herding flocks. If his father has a specialism he learns by watching and helping. During national service he may learn technical skills which command higher day-wage rates within the island and the mainland. After national service he begins to work for himself, although still contributing a proportion of his labour or income to his parents' estate. His skills may offer good prospects of full-time employment in Athens and he may choose to leave the island to follow up these prospects.

Clearly at this point a typical biography divides: the young unmarried man who goes to Athens to work has a different life from the one who stays behind on the island. The migrant uses the family network of ties with relatives and koumbari in the city with possible employers. He may marry a girl in the émigré community with a land plot, flat or block of flats as her dowry, or he may marry an island girl and bring her to the city, using the proceeds from the sale of her dowry house on Anaphi towards renting or buying accommodation.

If the young man returns from the army to Anaphi he begins to seek employment as a day-wage labourer and skilled

or semi-skilled artisan. He begins to save for investment in capital goods: donkeys, which give a varying weekly income from transporting goods and passengers to and from the steamer, or cattle, which bring in an annual return through hire for ploughing. His chances of marrying a girl with a dowry including, besides the obligatory house, crop-fields, olives and/or grazing lands, depend partly on the resources of his natal family and partly on his own reputation as a worker. As a young married man he works on his wife's dowry lands and continues to earn as a wage-labourer with additions for his skills and his capital resources. He may become half-share tenant for an islander with no sons, for a widow or for an émigré. He goes to Athens after harvest in June to work for three months, usually as a mason, plasterer or labourer at a time in his life when his strength and any skills he may possess command high wages. His wife contributes to building up a joint estate by seeking employment during the grain and olive harvests, receiving payment in cash or kind. At this stage in the domestic cycle there is no censure on a man if his wife works "on stranger's land", outside the sphere of reciprocal labour for kin and koumbari. However, as time goes on he must continue to build upthe estate and to make provision for daughters' dowries. He tries to establish a fairly permanent relationship with an employer

who gives him preference in wage labouring jobs. On his father's death he receives his share of land from the natal family estate, and his own marital family estate is at its peak. By this time he has established himself in the community with a network of men with whom he has reciprocal work relationships of mutual advantage and his wife does not work for wages outside this network. His summer seasonal jobs in Athens are not now so important. He provides opportunities for his children to begin to establish themselves by finding godparents from the émigré community in Athens or among the more influential islanders. He may send one son on to secondary education at the neighbouring island's high school or arrange with relatives or <u>koumbari</u> in Athens for him to stay there for higher education or an apprenticeship. He amasses an adequate dowry for his daughters, some of whom may go to Athens to learn dressmaking, to become maids or shop assistants or to work in factories. He now reaches the stage where he becomes an employer and a sought-after contact and <u>koumbaros</u> for other islanders. The family estate decreases as daughters marry and most farming jobs are done by remaining sons. The old man supervises the work and does the lighter tasks and spends most of his time in the cafés, where he is approached for labouring jobs and for other favours through his network of island and mainland contacts.

This typical biography, based on observation and on informants' accounts, makes clear how jobs are evaluated in relation to stages in the domestic cycle. Two further versions will clarify this point.

If the protagonist is the son of a farmer with little land, he goes on working as a labourer until later on in the domestic cycle and has greater difficulty in achieving the ideal of independence and economic self-sufficiency. He cannot expect to marry a girl with dowry lands as well as a dowry house, and he himself does not expect an inheritance great enough to support a family. To counteract these disadvantages he must create many relationships of obligation by offering his services as a labourer at times of demand to those whom he hopes to put in his debt. He may also try to provide a specialist service or acquire scarce capital goods which will give him a partial or complete monopoly. An example of a man who pulled himself up from a low status position as the son of an old workman is the island's chief fisherman and ferryman. He saved up from labouring and other jobs enough cash to buy an old boat which he repaired. From fishing and transport profits he set up a motorized flour-mill, which gave him a further source of income and a source of subsistence because of the percentage charge on grain which was ground at the mill.

The biography varies also for the son of a shepherd. A young shepherd can slowly accumulate a flock of his own from his share of half the animals he herds for others. He sells his own beasts to the meat-merchants and to island middlemen for slaughter and resale, and he sells the fleece and surplus milk and cheeses. He could save up his cash income to buy farming land but usually the cash goes towards providing his daughters with dowry houses and possibly dowry farming lands or grazing lands. He himself is most likely to marry the daughter of a shepherd, the daughter of a poor farmer or workman, or the younger daughter in a large farming family. None of these families could afford to give farming land as well as a dowry house in the girl's dowry.

The main element which emerges from these three accounts is the value placed on economic independence which ideally accompanies social independence. An adult married man with a growing family should not have to work for others except as a skilled craftsman or as the owner of a scarce good. However, the price of achieving economic independence is the creation of a network of contacts, first for preferential employment and later for reciprocal services. To be able to make claims on others a man is forced to put himself in a position where they can make claims on him and hence he loses some of his independence. There is a constant

struggle to get without giving too much, whether in labour, favours or information.

A description and analysis of economic life on Anaphi must take into account the significance of particular occupations and activities in the domestic cycle, and the connection of these to the aim of each man to be head of an economically independent and self-sufficient family household. This aim as set out in the typical biography above cannot fully be realised, for it is impossible to achieve a measure of economic independence without involvement in many different types of social relationship based on mutual services. It is also impossible because no family can be socially independent without being socially isolated. Few Anaphiot households are economically self-sufficient as the following account will show.

The idea of work

The modern Greek word for "work", thoulya, is based on the root which means "slavery", and it is in this sense that it is most commonly used by Anaphiots. There is no feeling of the dignity of labour; work is a necessary evil, the gains are small compared with one's needs, and each man must put his own family's needs first and use every manoeuvre and every contact he can to make the gains approximate to these needs. The whole setting of work is regarded as a struggle and a competition against the

environment and against others, not only fellow islanders but also impersonal market forces. The terminology associated with work reflects this attitude: palevome, thiskolevome, plexome, "we are struggling, we are in difficulties, we are tangled up" are common ways of answering the question "how are things going? what are you doing?"

Work, in a sense, belongs to the profane sphere of human life, for non-work is defined in a religious context. No work should be done on a Sunday, a saint's day, or a major church festival. Animals must, of course, be fed and watered, and a few essential household tasks carried out, but no job which can reasonably be put off until the next day should be done. The villagers say that if there are exceptional circumstances - illness, or a journey to prepare for - God will understand that they are working "from necessity not perversity", ap' ananki ochi apo kakya. But if a man deliberately works on a Sunday or feast day he is insulting God and should expect misfortune to follow.

One Sunday morning after church I was sitting on the terrace outside my room mending some clothes, and could be seen from the path above. A woman called out to me, "then kanei", ("that won't do"), and explained the Sunday ban on work. She finished by saying that God would forgive me this time because I didn't know any better, but if I did it again it would be "not an error but a sin" - ochi lathos ma

amartia. It became apparent to me later that many islanders did work on a Sunday, but they defined the situation to themselves as one of necessity even if other islanders placed a critical interpretation on their activities. It was unnecessary, stupid even, to stick too closely to the letter of the injunction but it was best not to go too far, otherwise there might come a reminder in the form of blight, drought, or livestock deaths. However, such disasters or misfortunes, while they might be interpreted by other islanders as a just punishment by God for breaking the rules, might well be interpreted by the sufferer as the results of _to Mati_, the Eye, admiring or envious, cast on his success by his fellow islanders.

I thought at first that the islanders' categorisation of work as belonging to the secular sphere, and non-work to the religious sphere, was consistent with the values of these two spheres. Work is competitive and refers to the needs of each nuclear family. It requires calculation, scheming, manoeuvring and manipulation of different kinds of material and non-material resources. These attitudes and actions seem to be inconsistent with the Christian ethic. However, the distinction between work and non-work is not as clear cut as this. Competitive and manipulatory behaviour is adopted to get preferential favours from the saints, just as it is to gain benefits from earthly patrons.

But it is important to note that the only setting in which islanders work together when they have no ties of kinship, koumbarya, or of neighbourhood, is when they perform communal co-operative services for the church. For example, men gave days of unpaid labour to rebuild, plaster and paint the chapels which were ruined by tremors from the earthquake on Thira in 1956. Women work together to prepare the village church, chapels and the Monastery church for feast days. It might be argued that the chief factor in unpaid work for the church is the bond between the individual helper and the saint, rather than the co-operative bond between the band of helpers linking them all to the saint.

In general, then, work is associated with the individual as a representative of his or her household. Before marriage an individual contributes labour to the natal family; after marriage work is carried out to further the economic and social interests of the marital family.

The farming year

The agricultural cycle begins in October with the return of the temporary summer migrants to the island, and of the holiday-makers to the city. Fields are sprinkled with fertiliser and those near the village are manured with human and animal ordure from the stables, hen-houses and earth closets. Olive picking begins.

<u>The olive crop</u>. The olive crop is collected throughout October and into November by groups of women who are paid in cash or kind. In 1966 they were paid 30 drachmas or 1 <u>oka</u> (about one and a quarter kilos) of oil for a day's work. The teams of pickers vary daily in composition, but their hirer, who may be either the owner or tenant of the fields, usually asks the same women every year and arranges a time-table to allow her days of work interspersed with free days for baking, washing and other household chores. The hirer or his workman visits the women during their work to distribute sweets and liqueur, with which they wish him a good crop and "the same next year" (<u>ke tou chronou</u>). The hirer (or when the hirer is either old or a widow the hirer's workman) prunes the trees and digs around them. The women, wearing trousers or long dark bloomers under their dresses, climb into the trees to shake down the olives and to pick the top branches. They stand on the terrace walls above the trees to reach the outer branches. As each tree is picked the olives are dropped into sacks and cloths spread below, and the women sit round to pull off twigs and leaves. The olives are poured into empty paraffin tins, estimated to hold about half a kilo each. The tins are strapped and roped to donkeys and taken back to the village, and arrangements are made with one, or both, olive presses for a day on which to use the press.

Two presses were working in Autumn 1966. One was worked by two brothers, Manolis and Panayiotis Arvanitis. The elder brother, Manolis, inherited the press from his mother. He had been named after her father whose name had not yet "come out", whereas the father's father already had a namesake grandson through another son. The mother came into possession of the olive press by making an exchange with her father's brother, giving him her dowry garden-land in return. The press takings were shared 2:1 between Manolis and his younger brother "Pananos", who helped to work the press. The other press in the village and the house beside it had been bought in 1960 for 30 thousand drachmas (c. £350), and the owner worked it with the help of a neighbour whom he employed every year.

Both presses are worked by hand, but in Manolis' press the wooden beams supporting the press have been replaced by metal girders. The olives are crushed on a raised circular platform by a huge marble boulder pulled round by a donkey. Small quantities of the resulting pulp are put into each of twenty goathair pieces of sacking which are folded over and put under the press itself. The sacking is brought from Athens, and a full set is said to cost about 3,000 drachmas. When the sacks are in place the press is screwed down on top of them. Soon the pressure is too great for the screw to be spun down easily and the press-owner, his workman

and the crop-owner push the handles of a turnstile-like wooden post which is attached by rope to a lever which winds down the screw. After the first pressing the screw is wound up, the sacks are opened and the contents are broken up with a small wooden paddle, and crumbled by hand. Meanwhile the crop-owner has been heating water in a vat in one of the press out-buildings, feeding the fire with olive-tree prunings and thorn bushes he has collected from his own lands. A gourdful of boiling water is thrown over each sacking envelope. The second pressing thus squeezes more oil and hot water into the covered wooden trough at the foot of the press. When the whole crop has been pressed, the oil in the trough is marked with the sign of the cross and an invocation made to the Virgin, Christ and the Trinity. Using a conch shell as a scoop, the press owner first skims off the scum, and then separates off the oil floating on top of the hot water. The oil is ladled into an oka measuring cup, and then into the crop-owner's jars. Everyone keeps count in terms of the number of "tens" and comments when last year's total is neared or exceeded. The crop owner has been offering sweets and liqueur to all those working at the press, but now a serious toast is drunk and mutual good wishes are made. During the work the crop owner joins in where he can, helping push down the screw, filling up the water vat from the well belonging to the press, tending the

fire, and offering drinks during pauses in the work. In the hot steamy smoky atmosphere there are moments of concentration and effort followed by relaxation, jokes and laughter. The press-owner's wife comes in with bread and cheese, the crop-owner's wife to call him home for his meal and to see how the work is going. Children cluster round the door and homecoming workmen shout greetings and comments from the path.

The owner takes his oil to a storehouse as another crop is being brought in. The press workers say that during some seasons they work right through the night without any sleep. The oil at the bottom of the trough and the scum are stored separately for soap-making. The olive pulp is collected from the sacks and the crushing platform and is used for pig-food and for fuel. One crop-owner has an arrangement to give the pulp to a neighbour who owns pigs, in return for several kilos of pork and sausages at pig slaughtering time the next year.

<u>The grain crop: ploughing and planting</u>: Ploughing and sowing begin in November and continue through to January. Barley is sown first, some of the crop is harvested in April and sun-dried for fodder; the rest is gathered in May and June. Wheat is sown in December and January and harvested in June. The seven men with draught cattle hire themselves out during the winter ploughing at one hundred drachmas per

day, a wage which is double the usual day rate. It was said that before the island was occupied by Italian troops in the 1940s, about 70 farmers had draught cattle. Many of the beasts were taken by the Italian garrison and the islanders were also forced to slaughter their cattle for food. Without cattle the islanders were forced to use donkeys for ploughing. After the Occupation, the high price of cattle meant that few islanders replaced their draught animals. Those who still had cattle, or bought new ones, now had a means to recoup the high purchase price and the cost of fodder by hiring themselves and their teams out for ploughing. Some farmers continued to use donkeys because the cost of hiring draught cattle was not covered by the extra crop yield resulting from deep ploughing. Neither then nor now did islanders drink cow's milk which they said "looks like pus". The present-day cattle owners certainly seem to have a monopoly on the deep-ploughing jobs, and few others aspire to buy cattle as they fear that the amount of work would not justify the keep. As calves and old stock are sold for export, and are only rarely slaughtered for islanders' consumption, there seems to be an inconsistency here with the aim which some young farmers express to save up for cattle.

A simple wooden plough tipped with a metal ploughshare is used. It can be unhitched from the yoked cattle or

donkeys and carried on the ploughman's shoulder down the ramps of earth joining the hill terraces. Seed is broadcast over the furrows after ploughing. The islanders claim that the phases of the moon are influential in the planting of crops. The fourteen days preceding the full moon are thought to be inauspicious for sowing grain, planting vegetables, and cutting wood for carpentry or building. The fourteen days after the full moon are said to be favourable. However, all the seed planting in November 1966 took place during the waxing, and hence unfavourable phase of the moon. Yet when I commented that the farmers on Thira were planting tomatoes during "the bad moon", the Anaphiots remarked on such risky and foolhardy behaviour.

The two forges in the village are busy at this time, retipping ploughshares and mending cistern covers in preparation for the rains. Coal is ordered from Athens and brought on the weekly steamer. One smith had learnt the craft in Athens before his marriage, and was now teaching his son-in-law, the husband of his only daughter; the other had learnt from his father and had inherited the forge from him. Both of the forges have simple basic equipment and charge similar prices. Smithing is a skill which gives the opportunity to render preferential labour in return for reciprocal services and favours.

<u>Other winter activities</u>: In November pigs are slaughtered and the pork is salted for winter use. Coarse salt is imported; some is also made, illegally, by one of the four fishermen, who uses the natural salt pans in the rocks near Mount Kalamos and on the islets off the south coast. Sausages are made with peppered and spiced chopped pork stuffed into the pig's intestines, which are first washed out with salt and lemon. The lengths of sausage are looped over poles balanced on top of courtyard walls and dried in the sun. They are a favourite accompaniment to wine or <u>tsikouthya</u> (a spirit distilled from trodden grapes) at the winters' nights parties and name-day celebrations.

During the autumn rains crocuses, <u>zafora</u>, bloom on the hillsides and mountain slopes. Women and girls go out after the rains and fill their baskets with the flowers and then spend the evenings picking out the stamens, which are dried and rubbed into a powder which is used to flavour and dye New Year and Easter bread and cakes. The saffron powder is sold at 10 drachmas per dram to the meat merchants who come to the island before Easter and in August. During the rains the women also collect snails which are cooked in soups and rice dishes. Émigré Anaphiots, in nostalgic mood, refer to <u>karavolosoupa</u>, snail soup, as the delicacy

they miss most, while the neighbouring Thirans regard it as a symbol and by-word of the uncouth habits and low level life on Anaphi.

For the three years preceding field work the autumn rains had been slight and the winter rains, falling sometimes as sleet or snow, had been heavy, washing away top soil and battering down crops. The frosts had withered the young grass, the wild vegetables and the olives. The crop yields had been poor and several families had used barley flour for bread. In the winter of 1966-67 the rains were so heavy that many village cisterns overflowed and gorges to the sea were full with soil-carrying streams. There was one fall of snow in mid-January and grain harvests were expected to be good.

Springtime: Vineyards are weeded and dug over in November and again in February when the vines are pruned. Crops and vineyards are weeded in March and at this time garden land is planted with tomatoes, potatoes, aubergines and cucumbers. Fields which are having a fallow year are ploughed and planted in March with beans, gourds and sesame. During these early spring months, and particularly during Lent, Megali Sarakosti, the forty-day period before Easter, wild grasses and vegetables are gathered from the hillsides, cleaned, boiled and eaten as an essential part of the Lenten diet. On the whole men do not observe the fast

until the week before Easter, (the Great Week, megali evthomatha), but women and old people refrain throughout Lent from meat, fish, eggs, cheese and, on certain days in the week, oil. The wild grasses, chorta, are about the only protein they get. Like snails, chorta are considered a particularly Anaphiot food, and basketsful are sent to Athens to relatives. The baskets are returned filled with city goods and produce to tide the islanders over this period when stocks are low and little island-grown food is available, and to provide them with goods for Easter feasting and mnemosyna. By March most household supplies of grain and oil have run out, the flour-mill stocks are low or exhausted, and flour must be bought from the grocery.

At this time of year the bees begin to come out of the hives to look for food. Trays of syrup, made from unrefined sugar, are put out along the walls and terraces near the sheltered beehives, and by May the bees are collecting flower honey. In June the thyme blooms and the first honey is taken from the hives. For the traditional Easter sweetmeats thyme honey from the previous year is used, and it is also served out on Easter Day as part of memorial services for the souls of the dead.

Easter generally falls during April, a time when there are several important but not urgent or time-consuming jobs in the fields. Some islanders spoke of the Easter feasting

as a pause to gather strength before the harvest. In April the vines are treated with insecticides, green barley is harvested for fodder, the caique is relaunched and supplies of fish start coming up to the village. Imports to the island are more assured and in larger quantities, now that the sea is calm and unloading from the steamer is easier. Cheese and milk are now available and restrictions on the slaughter and sale of meat during the last weeks of Lent are lifted; Easter marks a period of improved supply. During May the green barley is sun-dried and stored for fodder. Sacks from the olive press are taken down to the harbour, soaked in the sea, scraped free of crushed olives and beaten clean on the rocks.

The Grain crop; harvesting: Harvesting begins in June. Both men and women cut the grain, wearing large stiff-brimmed hats woven from palm fibre, and woollen mittens to protect their hands from thorns and stubble. They bend almost double among the wheat and poppies, cutting clumps of stalks with small sickles. The man of the team binds the stooks with pliant twigs for transport to the threshing floor, where donkey teams or mules are driven round and round the circular marble-paved threshing floor to trample the grain. Their mouths are covered with wicker muzzles (which are imported from Thira by one islander for private sale to other farmers), and their dung

is caught in a leather spoon-shaped paddle. A small boy urges them round, reverses them, and shouts when more stooks are to be thrown down. He shouts and sings and joins the harvesters in their midday meal under the fig and olive trees in the shimmering heat. Usually a husband and wife team harvest their own inherited or tenanted land before offering their labour to other farmers. Groups of women work reciprocally on each other's lands, with the household head taking the stooks to the threshing floor. Hired labour costs are 50 drachmas per day for men, and 40 drachmas per day for women. As I showed earlier, it is at this time of the year that the labourer has the upper hand, his labour is a resource, and he can pay off old debts or old scores, and initiate new relationships or put an end to others by offering or refusing his labour.

After winnowing, the grain is collected and stored in sacks, and the women of each household clean and sort the seeds in large sieves as they sit in their courtyards in late afternoon and evening gossip groups. The cleaned grain may be washed before it is taken to the flour mills at irregular intervals throughout summer and autumn as flour is needed.

The grain crop; milling: The two motorized flour mills take as payment 10 per cent of the grain ground. The takings are shared between the owners and their helpers, according to

the amount of work done, and the running expenses. Each man puts his share towards household use and sells any surplus. Usually it is only the mill owner who, with two shares, has enough for sale as well as domestic use. The diesel fuel for the mill engines is imported on the weekly steamer. One of the mills is owned jointly by two fishermen brothers, Antonis and Manolis Sigallas, the other is run by Iannis Damigos, the café proprietor. The wives of these men can work the mills once the engine is started so that the fishermen can go down to the harbour, and the café proprietor serve his customers. I was told that when the last of the windmills was ruined by tremors from the earthquake on Thira in 1956, the café proprietor imported an engine and set up his motorized mill, so that the windmill owner, Christos Gavallos, decided against repairing his mill. Christos still has a source of income from his skill as a master builder, and patronizes Iannis Damigos' café, so there appears to be no ill-feeling. But between Iannis Damigos and the Sigallas brothers there appeared to be some antagonism, flaring up on the occasion when there was an explosion in the chimney of the fishermen's mill (Chapter Five, p. 183).

In June and July harvesting and threshing continues. The March plantings of garden produce are ripe, and the first temporary summer migrants leave as the first holiday-

makers arrive. Those with a surplus of garden produce sell directly to other villagers and to the summer visitors, the fishermen raise their prices, white bread is imported on the steamer for private orders and sale to the visitors, the boat houses at the harbour are rented as summer cottages, shut-up houses are reopened, a _cafeneion_ is set up in the harbour shelter and the village cafés are patronized all day and longer into the evening.

The Grape crop: In September grapes are picked for winemaking. They are left out in the sun for several days, and then trodden in pits in the outhouses of field cottages or in the village. The treading is done in rubber boots to avoid stings from bees, wasps and beetles which crawl among the grapes during the sun-drying period. The juice from the trodden grapes is filtered with a plug of thorn twigs and trickles into a vat below the pit. It is scooped up in a kilo measuring cup and poured into barrels to ferment for forty days. The trodden grapes are boiled up and a clear spirit, _tsikouthya_, is distilled. This spirit is flavoured with cinnamon sticks or coloured sugar syrup and drunk as an aperitif and offered to guests. It is also used externally for cleansing wounds, "drawing out" the cold, and for menstrual ailments. Sweet puddings are made from the must, and are a common gift between households with reciprocal obligations. In September 1966

a workman who cut and trod grapes for a café proprietor was paid 50 drachmas for his day's work. He then used the café-owner's treading pit for his own grapes and brought several plates of must-pudding in reciprocation.

Autumn: Partridge shooting begins in late August and continues all winter. The shooting and gun-permits are controlled by the police, but the village council makes decisions on limiting the months when shooting is permitted, or on forbidding it altogether if the birds seem to be decreasing. Partridge figures largely in most of the old sources on Anaphi; they were clearly an important source of meat (together with household rabbits and chickens) at a time when the ewes are pregnant and livestock is not available for slaughter.

The shepherding year

There are 18 shepherds on the island with flocks of sheep and goats totalling 2,000 - 2,500 animals. Some of these are the shepherds' own animals; some are given to him to herd on the agreement that he takes most of the milk, half the wool, and half the offspring (or their cash value) in return for his care. The owner retains his rights over the original animal and half its offspring, and can sell them for slaughter or take them back from the flock. It was almost impossible to get an approximately correct figure for each flock, and for the numbers

of animals which are herded for others or which belong to the shepherd himself. Over half the shepherds have some land of their own; where this is agricultural land the shepherd has time to work it when his wife or children are minding the flock. Most of them also have grazing land of their own but all of them also rent grazing land from other islanders, both resident and émigré. The rent is paid in the form of an agreed weight of cheese. Cheese-making begins during Lent and the cheese-rent is paid before May 18th when the new renting year begins. Harvested hill-terraces are also rented half-yearly from June to October, and the rent paid the following April. The owner of the grazing land and the shepherd call each other "colleague", kolligas, and the owner is also known as paktomataris ("leaseholder" from paktos, a lease).

Most cheese rent is paid before Easter because soft cheese is used in the making of special Easter sweetmeats and cakes. The time for the giving of hard cheese, kept in oil or salt, is more flexible, although the shepherds prefer to give it soon after making, as the maturing process reduced the weight. One shepherd gave a total of 400 okas of cheese (about 500 kilos) in rent, and amounts given to individual owners ranged from 10 to 85 okas.

When the weights of each instalment of cheese are added up and the agreed weight of cheese is handed over,

the shepherd asks the rentier if he is satisfied and wishes to continue the arrangement. If the shepherd intends to reduce his flocks, or has made a less burdensome arrangement with another owner, he says that he does not wish to continue as kolligas. The owner may ask for an increased weight of cheese in rent or break off the relationship because of dissatisfaction with the quality or proportions of hard and soft cheese he has received. There were jokes in the cafeneion in April 1967 about shepherds who filled cheese with stones or "fiddled" the weights in some way, and there was a quarrel between a young shepherd and a widow who was dissatisfied at the amount of cheese rent he had offered to her.

Old arrangements are confirmed and new ones agreed on before the renting year begins. Milk and cheese previously devoted to paying rents are now available for sale. Émigrés with grazing land prefer cheese rent to the cash value of the cheese because, as they say, the cheese is an Anaphiot delicacy. Their cheese rent has to be sent on the steamer, and later surplus cheeses are sent to Athens for sale to members of the émigré community.

Forty days after Easter, on Ascension Day, shepherds give away the morning milk to anyone who comes to the fold. The belief is that if the shepherd refuses and makes cheese the milk will turn to blood, and the cheese "won't take".

If no one comes to take the milk the shepherd can use it with a clear conscience. Those with no milking animals or grazing land to rent can thus make a small amount of cheese. Some islanders regarded this as just an old custom, others said it had religious significance,

In August meat-merchants, chasapithes, from neighbouring islands and from the mainland visit the island to purchase livestock for slaughter for the feasting on August 15th, the Dormition of the Virgin. The rutting season also begins in August.

At the beginning of September the flocks are washed in the sea and then shorn of their summer fleece. The shepherd gives half the fleece from the animals in his care to their owners. Women tease the fleeces by hand or with a bow made from a branch and a length of string. They spin the fleece by hand on wooden spindles tipped with metal hooks. The village barber makes and repairs these spindles. The spun thread is looped into skeins, washed and dyed and then knitted or woven. Most shepherds have unteased fleeces for sale. The wife of one shepherd has a loom and takes orders for rugs and blankets. In constant demand is the traditional self-colour woollen bedspread which is edged with a deep fringe of crochet lace, and forms an important part of a trousseau. Three other women have looms, and presumably they have to buy the wool

they use, or make up wool brought by their customers. The weavers said that they regarded loomwork as a supplementary rather than an essential part of the household income.

In October the three uninhabited islets off the south coast of Anaphi are put up for rent. They are owned by the <u>kinótis</u> (community) of Anaphi, and the village council accepts the highest tender for each islet. They are called <u>Pacheia</u> ("Fat"), <u>Makria</u> ("Far") and <u>Ftena</u> ("the Narrows"). In October 1966 the highest tender (<u>pleiothotiki</u>) for each of these was 3,200 drachmas, 600 drachmas and 250 drachmas respectively for a year's grazing. The flocks are taken across on the fishermen's caique when the autumn rains begin and are left to drop their young and graze until March, when some are brought back to the island in time for the Lent sales to the meat-merchants who are buying for the Easter feasting. Milking ewes are also brought back so that cheese can be made. Before Lent begins some animals are slaughtered for a weekend's feasting at <u>Apokreas</u>, carnival. Some animals are exported on the steamer for sale to émigré Anaphiots for their <u>Apokreas</u> celebrations. About 50 animals were slaughtered in March 1967, most of them were lambs to allow the ewes' milk to be used for cheese. The rest of the flocks on the islets are left there until the August meat sales. Their fleeces are shorn and brought back to

the island. The rest of the island flocks are also shorn in March, although these winter fleeces are regarded as inferior in quality to the September shearing.

Cheese-making begins mid-March. A tinker from Thira makes a visit to repair cauldrons and bowls. The shepherds concentrate their flocks on the grazing land nearest the village where there is a cottage or hut, matoti, where the cheeses can be made, ripened and stores. The cottage must have a fireplace, for the evening milk is made into soft cheese by a process which involves heating the milk together with whey from the morning milk (which is mixed with coagulents and left to drip and harden in rush baskets), and sea-water. The soft cheese, mizithra or vrasti, are used in Easter delicacies.

Two or three weeks before Easter the meat-merchants arrive to select animals for purchase. In 1967 eight merchants arrived over a three-week period in March, and five came in early April, three weeks before Easter. The meat-merchants are well known to the shepherds and have long-established ties with them. They are known by sight to most of the islanders. One is koumbaros to an island family and stays with them during his visits. The others bed down in the xenona, guest house of the kinotis, and order meals from the cafés. They hire donkeys and guides to visit the various parts of the island where the shepherd from whom

they are buying is grazing his flock. They select animals, guess their weight, and pay at an agreed price per kilo. They give half the total sum in advance, mark the ears of the animals they have selected with their own recognized notches, and leave. Some of them co-operate to charter a caique from their own island to collect the animals. The captain hands over the remainder of the price when the right number of animals has been loaded. From the time the animals are driven from their grazing land the meat-merchants pay a daily wage for shepherding. The flocks are usually grazed on the cliffs above the harbour, and then driven down to the quay when the caique is sighted. In contrary weather the meat-merchants telephone or telegraph a message to the shepherds to take the animals to one of the bays on the west or northern coasts to meet the hired caique.

Sales to meat-merchants in Lent and again in August are the chief sources of income for the shepherds. As an occupational group they are characterized by a lack of agricultural land, or of any land at all. A shepherd has to take his flocks where rented grazing land is best and consequently often stays away from the village for days at a time, bedding down in field cottages. While farmers and workmen tend to know certain areas of the island where they work land, shepherds have a more detailed knowledge

of the whole island. Thus when a shepherd returns to the village he is closely questioned in the cafés as to the progress of crops and gardens, the promise of wild vegetables, crocuses and snails, the state of springs and wells, and the condition of field cottages and chapels in the area he has returned from.

There were several marriage and other kinship ties between shepherding families, but it was difficult to find evidence that they formed or were regarded as a separate group within the community, (cf. Friedl 1962, p.34), with economic or social attributes valued lower than those of farmers.

The pros and cons of farming and shepherding were discussed in the cafés but no explicit comparison of economic and social status was offered. The major point of difference lies in the cycles of the agricultural and shepherding years: shepherds are not able to leave the island for seasonal summer work on the mainland, their cash income comes from livestock sales in April and August, and the occasional sale of animals, wool, milk and cheeses to island middlemen.

The Fishermen's year

Three of the four Anaphiot fishermen are brothers. Two of them, Antonis and Manolis Sigallas, are married. The fourth is their "uncle", Mercouris, from the island

of Symi in the Dodecanese, who is married to Antonis' mother-in-law's sister. In the work situation he is under Antonis' orders but he free-lances during the winter, going from house to house with a basket of threads, elastic, exercise books and pencils, and acting as a small-scale entrepreneur for the sale of chickens and coarse salt. The youngest of the three brothers, Nikolaos Sigallis, is unmarried, lives in a house which he bought in ruins after the earthquake, and repaired, and is paid irregular small sums for labouring jobs around the village. The other three fishermen split the profits of fish sales and transport of passengers and goods to and from the weekly steamer. Antonis, the eldest brother, who owns the caique, gets an extra share for his expenses. He also owns a flour mill and organizes work at the mill and down at the harbour, so as to dove-tail both activities. Antonis and Manolis are effectively in charge of both enterprises, while Nikolaos, the third brother, and Mercouris, their "uncle", are little more than workmen.

The fishing season lasts from March to October, after which the caique is beached except for steamer days. During the winter the fishermen occasionally fish on calm days from dinghies, but apart from work at their mill they spend the winter mending nets and equipment. In March

they relaunch the caique to meet the demand for fish on the feast of the Annunciation, March 15th, and for "bloodless" sea-food, such as octopus and squid, during the Lenten fast. They are busiest during the summer months, supplying the summer holiday-makers with fish, and taking them out for fishing trips. The villagers complain that the fishermen raise their prices to make a greater profit from the visitors so that they are unable to afford to buy, and also that the best of the catch is sold down at the harbour before it is brought up to the village.

During the summer months fishermen from Spetsis and mainland ports, and sponge divers from the Dodecanese, tie up at the harbour. They mend their nets and talk to the island fishermen and to the visitors, they take catches of fish up to the village for sale to get ready cash for cigarettes, oil and drinks in the café. Like the island fishermen, who occasionally use dynamite to get a good catch, these visiting fishermen have various reasons for keeping on good terms with the police. Thus it is that particularly fine fish and delicacies are offered as gifts to the policemen, to form the basis and excuse for a party on the police station balcony. Sometimes the schoolmaster and his wife join these sessions, but on the whole "ordinary" islanders are not asked, and do not accept invitations to join the merrymakers. It seemed to me that

it was seen by both the police and visiting fishermen as appropriate that they should "make company", _na_ _kanoun_ _parea_, and exchange news and views, in which jokes at the Anaphiots' expense formed a major part. They were outsiders in the island community, as was the schoolmaster, a returned émigré, by virtue of his profession.

The island fishermen and five other islanders who own dinghies act as boatmen on steamer days. Passengers are ferried at a fixed rate, luggage and other goods are assessed and haggled over. Stocks for shopkeepers are paid for according to the number of trips to and from the steamer. A group of men bring their donkeys down to the harbour to carry people and loads up to the village at 10 drachmas a time. They hope to make more than the usual 50 drachmas day-wages. However, those expecting relatives use their own donkeys, and the shopkeepers use their own beasts if possible. The donkeymen work independently; the boatmen share out their takings, with extra shares for the various boat-owners. The visiting fishermen sometimes ferry passengers to the steamer, particularly after the monastery festival on September 8th, when there are about one hundred prospective travellers.

It seems clear that the island fishermen do not count on fishing or ferrying as a sufficient source of income. There is evidence that fishing was a conscious choice of

occupation, for they could have obtained land through the Society for Landless Men, or become shepherds and built up flocks of their own. The three brothers have little chance of inheriting land, for the only land attached to the natal household is their mother's dowry land, now worked for their married sister in Athens. The eldest brother, Manolis, eloped with his wife and consequently she had no dowry; but she does get cheese rent from her shepherd brother for the area of grazing land given to her as dowry. So the fishermen's choice of occupation seems partly a result of their landlessness and partly a manoeuvre to corner a monopoly. The collaboration of Antonis and Manolis in buying and working a flour mill is another instance of this, and obviates their need to rely on fishing for a livelihood, giving them direct access to flour for household use, and to a saleable commodity for extra cash.

External economic relations

Sheep-rearing for sale and export is a major link between the internal economy of the island and the external market. Shepherds are affected by the market forces of demand for meat and of supply from alternative sources such as imported frozen meat from Yugoslavia. Government taxes and restrictions on meat-merchants and on the transport of live animals also affect Anaphiot shepherds. They

rely on newspaper and radio market reports in taking decisions about the size of their flocks and the renting of mountain pastures.

Subsistence farming is also affected by external economic forces, mediated by the Agricultural Bank, which is linked to each local co-operative.

The Co-operative

The Anaphiot co-operative, synetairismos, founded in 1951, exists mainly as an organization for importing agricultural goods. The Agricultural Bank on Thira supplies fertilizers, insecticides, beehives, frames and seed potatoes, and provides loans for building stables and outhouses, and for other improvements to farm land. Members of the co-operative pay 50 drachmas per year membership fee, but it is also possible to order privately from the Bank, although this involves payment for the transport of goods to Anaphi. The co-operative adds a share of the cost of transport to the goods sold to members. The loans available for the purchase of milch cows are not used as the Anaphiots use cattle for draught purposes only. Short term loans, vrachichronio, are given for the purchase of fertilizers, which are ordered in September, received in October and November, and used before ploughing begins. The loans are paid back after harvest in June.

The co-operative's orders and business are handled by

a tri-annually elected president, assisted by the village Secretary. A small profit is made on fertilizer sales, and insecticides are ordered and paid for in March out of this profit so that individuals buy direct from the co-operative. The farmers learnt about the Bank's various loan schemes from notices pinned up in three of the four cafés. These notices are written in <u>katharevousa</u>, "pure" or official Greek, and are paraphrased by the café owner or the president of the co-operative to café patrons. A discussion and evaluation of the scheme follows. However, most islanders are suspicious of the Bank's schemes and policies. The most recent example and justification for this wariness is the case of barley sales. In 1964 there was a good barley harvest on Anaphi and surplus was sold to the Bank at a low price because of a nationally large supply. The next year gave a poor harvest on Anaphi, and barley had to be bought from the Bank at a high price. Many farmers said they would never deal with the Bank again. This incident confirmed their distrust of types of contractual relationship in which there are no forms of social control through the surety of mutual obligations. Members of the co-operative are also chary of loan and improvement schemes; they feared the possibility of loss or low returns if they experimented with new crops or new

techniques. The *proedros* claimed that he had been the first to plant fodder crops and had been copied only when he was proved successful. The farmers were also suspicious of communal improvement schemes. When the tremors of the earthquake of 1956 blocked one of the springs at Vayia on the western coast of the island, the landholders there were encouraged by the president of the co-operative and by the councillors to clear the spring, and to construct a new cistern. I was told that not all the landholders at Vayia were willing to join in, and the others were reluctant to undertake work which would benefit those who had not taken part. Although this version of the incident is village opinion rather than fact, it fits in with the general picture of the attitude of suspicion and calculation which characterizes contacts between those with no kinship, neighbourhood or *koumbaros* ties. Proximity of land holding is not a strong enough tie of interest on its own.

On a visit to Thira I called at the Agricultural Bank to find out more about the Anaphiot co-operative. I was told that the agricultural expert and adviser from the Bank had never visited Anaphi, nor was it likely that his predecessor had ever been. The explanation from the Bank was that "it wouldn't be worth while", *then axizi*, because the islanders never took advantage of the Bank's

Figure Six: The Island Year

	FARMING	SHEPHERDING	FISHING
Oct.	Seasonal labourers return from Athens. Fertilizer arrives from Agric. Bank. Fields fertilized and manured.	Islets put up for rent Flocks taken out to islets	Caique beached for winter
Nov.	Olive picking begins Olive pressing Pigs slaughtered		
Dec.	Vineyards dug over Forges busy Ploughing & sowing begins		
Jan.	Barley sown; wheat sown.	Lambing	Dinghy fishing on calm days.
Feb.	Vineyards dug; vines pruned		
Mar.	Green barley harvested for fodder; Vineyards & crops weeded; Syrup for bees.	Some flocks brought from islets; winter fleece shorn. Cheese making begins	Caique launched
Apr.	Gardens & fallow-year crops planted; vines treated w/insecticides	Meat-merchants visit	
May	Barley harvested. Olive-press sacks washed in sea	May 18th new renting year begins	
June	Wheat harvested; Thyme blooms Honey taken from hives.		
July	Harvesting continues; Garden produce ripe.		
Aug.	Labourers leave for Athens; holiday-makers arrive. Partridge shoooting begins.	Rutting begins Meat-merchants visit	Fish mostly sold to holiday-makers
Sept.	Grapes picked; wine-making begins	Ewes pregnant; Flocks washed; Summer fleece shorn.	

schemes.

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In this chapter I have described the events of the farming, shepherding and fishing year.* In doing so I have tried to show how particular economic activities are related to various stages in the individual life-cycle and domestic cycle. The islanders evaluate economic activities and possessions according to a model of the way in which age, generational position, capital goods, property ownership and economic activities should ideally be connected. I have also tried to show how the island economy is linked to the national economy through seasonal migration and through livestock sales.

Most important for the argument of this thesis is the connection shown in this chapter between rights to property and definition as a member of the island community. I go on to show how economic activities and property are linked to the domestic cycle and to religious beliefs and practices. Rights to property (land for men, houses for women) involve obligations to the souls of those through whom the property was acquired. In the next chapter I describe and discuss religious beliefs and practices, with particular attention to the meaning and implications of the term <u>Christianos</u>.

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*See Figure Six, facing.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

In December 1966 a wooden box was washed up on the coast of Anaphi. Painted on it was the address of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on the island of Symi in the Dodecanese. A shepherd brought it to the village and it was opened in one of the cafés, where it was found to contain candles, votive offerings, money and a list of names to be commemorated in a Liturgy to be said at the Monastery, paid for by the contents. The customers in the café discussed what the meaning of the box was to them, and decided that it had been washed up on Anaphi because they were "meant" to contribute. Beeswax for candles, money and a list of contributors were put inside, the box was resealed and thrown back in the sea. A few days later it was washed up again and brought back to the café. Several individuals who had not contributed the first time said that the box had been brought back because they were "meant" to put in an offering. When these additional offerings had been made the box was again resealed and thrown back into the sea, at a spot where the current would carry it eastwards. Several weeks later a letter of acknowledgment came from Symi saying that a Liturgy had been said for the original

sender and for the Anaphiots who had given supplementary offerings.

This incident raised many interesting comments by islanders on their view of supernatural forces and fate. Anaphi too had been the recipient of sea-borne votive offerings. A fisherman whose boat was nearly wrecked in a storm vowed a door to the saint whose doorless chapel he could see on the cliff above. Later, a door was washed up on Anaphi and taken to the chapel. The arrival in the past of such offerings on Anaphi and the safe arrival of the box on Symi were used as examples of the intervention of supernatural forces in everyday life and of the existence of such forces. The incident of the box also illustrates the extent to which individual religious activity takes place within the Anaphiot community, and the islanders' awareness of belonging to a total religious community involving all Greeks as _Christiani_, members of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The meaning of Christianos

All the islanders are formally members of the Greek Orthodox Church. They have all been baptised and regard themselves as Orthodox Christians. It is impossible for a person not to define himself as a _Christianos_, (literally a Greek Orthodox Christian), whatever his state of belief in Church teachings and attendance at church ceremonies may be. The word _Christianos_ defines, according to context,

a series of more and more variously exclusive categories to which the speaker belongs. Were he to deny that he was a Christianos he would, by implication, exclude himself from all the main categories of human beings. The widest use of the work denotes all human beings as opposed to the rest of creation, and refers to all those with whom the speaker and his audience share common humanity. ("Move up and let the Christianos sit down," said a boatman to passengers in the dinghy). In a more limited sense Christianos distinguishes "civilized" people from I Mavri - the Black Men - and all those with incomprehensible and unacceptable customs, beliefs and ideas. ("In Africa, they don't wear clothes, we Christiani on the other hand . . ." said a café owner). Within civilized society is the body of Christiani in the literal meaning of the word, that is, members of the Greek Orthodox Church who are Greeks, fellow citizens and, in the narrowest usage, fellow Anaphiots, members of the speaker's own social and moral community. The word can thus mean a fellow human being, a civilized person, a Greek, an Orthodox Christian, and a decent well-thought-of individual.

The islanders believe that unless a person is baptized he cannot and does not become a human being. Before baptism a child is called "baby" even though its name may already be known. It is described as "a little heathen, a little Turk," (because the Turks are not baptized and do not profess

Christianity they are outside the moral universe for most Greeks). The personal name is not used in talking to or about the child until after the ceremony. Without baptism and a name the soul cannot go to God, and if the child dies it's soul is thought to wander in limbo reproaching the mother in her dreams. Hence if a child is born sickly and weak it may be given lay baptism by being held up in front of the household ikons and moved in the shape of the cross while a name is spoken. Once a child is baptized it has a name which links it to past generations of the family and gives it a social identity. By baptism the child becomes a <u>Christianos</u>, a person, an Orthodox Christian, a Greek and an Anaphiot. Hence all the islanders define themselves as <u>Christiani</u> whatever their individual beliefs and attitudes are towards the church as an institution or towards the Christian code of ethics and morality.

Baptism, marriage, funeral and memorial ceremonies which mark the chief stages of an islander's life, take place in and through the church. As there is no civil marriage in Greece* the majority of Greek citizens, unless

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*"Marriage is the legal union of persons of the opposite sex. The legality of the union in Greece may be established through celebration according to the dogma or religion of the parties. Marriage of Greek subjects not so celebrated is considered as non-existent in Greece." Greek National Statistical Service 1965; <u>Statistical Yearbook of Greece</u>, pp. 14-15.

they belong to Jewish, Moslem or other religious minority groups, go through the Orthodox marriage ceremony. On Anaphi the islanders need the offices of the church to mark the status changes in their lives: from unnamed "heathen" baby to Christianos, from member of a natal family to adult head of a marital family, and from living member of the community to one of the recent remembered dead before passing into the undifferentiated group of the souls of past generations.

Whether or not an individual believes and follows the teaching of the church, or has doubts and criticisms of its organization at the national or local level, he does not express open disagreement. At any time he, or his family, may need the ceremonials of the church. He cannot afford to deny his own human nature, Greek nationality and membership of the Anaphiot community by explicit statements of disbelief and opposition.

Belief in God

Few, if any islanders would deny the existence of God. He offers an ultimate explanation for the existence of the world and for the nature of mankind. However, many islanders doubt that human beings can alter the train of events through prayers, vows, church-going and good behaviour, yet at the same time they admit that these may be effective for some people in certain cases. Such means do no harm, and may

possibly do some good, while there is also enough evidence to support scepticism. Illness, poor crops and other misfortunes occur to everyone at some time, whatever his way of life. The irreligious are seen to prosper and the pious to suffer a series of calamities, and counter examples exist in the form of devout, honourable and successful island families and of those with histories of adultery, fornication and sudden death who never attend church services.

God Himself is thought to be too large a Being to be influenced by the prayers of one person on a tiny island in the middle of the Aegean Sea. Imaste makria ap' to Theo "we live far away from God" is a common way of expressing the isolation and rigours of life on Anaphi. If God is too mighty to be concerned with the day to day misfortunes of islanders, the Virgin as a mother can be approached, particularly by women, to intercede for the health, well-being and preservation of the family.

Belief in the Saints

The saints who were men and women themselves and understand human temptations and troubles, provide channels of intercession in which they themselves are involved, and can thus be manipulated by vows and votive offerings. There is an implicit analogy between the relationship of a suppliant to a saint with that of a client to his patron; the saint

intercedes on behalf of his human client and has an interest in preserving his saintly reputation and increasing his following, as does an earthly patron. The suppliant cannot ask the saint to help him in irreligious, immoral or illegal enterprises, but he can obtain preferential favours which put him at an advantage to other islanders and increase the saint's prestige.

The relationship between an individual and his namesake saint need not necessarily be of this kind. Baptismal names should be, and usually are, saints' names but some islanders, mainly women, celebrate at All Saints because their names (Lemonya, Athena, Ariadne) are not on the saints' calendar. Usually the name day is celebrated on a saint's day and the individual or members of his family are expected to honour the saint by attending his festival. Men rarely do this unless there are no other calls on their time. Women whose husbands, sons, or fiances are away from their village or from the island attend their menfolk's saint's festival and are wished <u>na sas zisi</u>, "may he live for you" by others in the congregation. I was expected to offer coffees in the <u>cafeneion</u> to men who wished my father "many years" on Saint John's day, as I was not then able to follow the island custom of receiving callers and offering them coffee, cakes and liqueurs in return for their good wishes. By the time my own saint's day came round

(January 21st, 1967) I was asked whether I would be celebrating (there are restrictions on celebrations if there has been a death in the family), and was encouraged to make sweet biscuits and cakes to offer to well wishers. These name-day visits are the only occasions on which husband and wife go visiting together, and on which those without kin or neighbourhood ties with the celebrator make social calls. A young workman and his wife made four name-day calls one saint's day in the evening. Two of these were to houses in different neighbourhoods from their own, and to people with whom they had no kinship links. From comments made after these calls both by visitors and hosts, it seemed clear that the workman was attempting to set up a contractual wage labour relationship with either or both of the hosts. The host, or his wife, was obliged to reciprocate the call on the workman's name-day and the opportunity was open to establish the relationship more firmly.

Because of the naming system there is a relatively small pool of names on the island and many men celebrate on the same name-day, so that there are many and overlapping calls being paid. Name-days which fall in the winter are often celebrated with a house party to which kin and neighbours are invited. However, there were instances of men and women who followed a saint other than their namesake, or paid little attention to any of the saints.

Belief in Christ

The islanders do not seem to have the same sense of closeness to Christ as they do to the saints, even though they know He lived as a man, for He is now, like God the Father, too great a Being to be intimately concerned with island affairs. Because His death and passion make possible the union of the soul with God, the ceremonies which re-enact these events have a significance and promise for every individual. With each service during Holy Week the congregation increases and domestic activities are focussed on Easter Day; men whitewash houses and courtyard walls, women bake, dye eggs, spring clean. Women and girls gather in the church on Good Friday morning bringing flowers from the hillsides and from courtyard gardens to decorate the epitafios, the wooden litter with a domed roof which represents the bier of Christ. The bell tolls as it does for the death of any Anaphiot, islander or émigré. At the service the wooden image of Christ is lifted down from the altar screen and laid in the flower-covered bier with slow chanting and solemn reverence. The members of the congregation file past to kiss the image as they kiss the corpse at a funeral, and then follow in procession around the outer limits of the village. In fulfilment of a vow which she made in an attempt to obtain divine help for her deaf son a woman steps forward to sing the Virgin's lament beside the epitafios before

the image is removed and symbolically placed in the tomb. The death bell continues to ring all day on Saturday, the Paschal lambs and kids are slaughtered and prepared for the oven, final preparations are made. At 11 p.m. the village church is full, with a crowd of younger men standing around the main doorway. Just before midnight the Abbot comes to the central gate of the altar screen with the Paschal candle, from which each male family head lights the candle he has brought with him. The congregation follow the Abbot into the square where he reads the Easter gospel. Tension mounts as the crowd shelter the candle flames from the wind and lean forward to catch the words. As midnight strikes the Abbot chants loudly "Christ has risen", "He has risen indeed." Then each family returns to its own house to eat its roast lamb and to get ready for the afternoon service, the Second Resurrection. This service is the occasion when everyone wears best clothes, when most of those who live outside the village come in from their field cottages and exchange news and gossip, when name-day visits are paid to those who celebrate at Easter (Lambros, Anastasios, Anastasia) and when many young couples become betrothed.

Attendance at the Good Friday and Easter Day services is the minimum requirement of showing oneself to be a <u>Christianos</u>, both in the sense of belonging to the Greek

Orthodox Church and in the sense of being an Anaphiot. The Easter services are the highlight of the islanders' year, more so, I think, than the Monastery festival. The description given above is based on many accounts, often unsolicited, in which the islanders stressed the interrelation between the gastronomic, social and religious aspects of the Easter celebrations. The Easter festivities in April 1967 were overshadowed by the events of the military coup ten days before. The ban on traditional ways of marking the announcement of the Resurrection by lighting fireworks and firing guns made the Anaphiots comment "We don't realize that it is Easter this year." Because the circumstances were exceptional it would be invalid to compare Easter on Anaphi as I saw it with Campbell's description and analysis of the meaning of Easter for the Sarakatsani. However, from their accounts of Easter and from comparisons with past years it seemed that the islanders do not regard the ceremonies in the same way as the Sarakatsani (Campbell 1964, pp. 347-349). The services on Good Friday and Easter Sunday appeared to be re-enactments of past events rather than mystically synchronic with them. Even though people hurrying to the service on Saturday evening ask "Has Christ risen yet; are we in time for the Resurrection?", there did not seem to me to be the same "suspension of disbelief" apparent in conversation and behaviour in other parts of

Greece at subsequent Easter services which I have attended.

The Abbot

Anaphi belongs to the diocese of the Bishop of Thira. The functions of village priest are carried out by a man who is also Igoumenos, Abbot, of the Monastery of Zoodochou Piyis, the Life-giving Spring, known also as Panayia Kalamiotissa, the All-Holy Virgin, Our Lady of the Reed. This monastery lies at the eastern end of the island. "As a rule the parochial clergy of the Orthodox Church are married and a monk is only appointed to have charge of a parish for exceptional reasons" (Ware 1963, p. 298). The Abbot at the time of fieldwork was an Anaphiot in his early sixties, only son of a previous village priest. He had taken monastic vows and become a priest in his fifties, after working as a mason in Athens. He was appointed Abbot soon after becoming a monk. On his father's death a priest had been sent over from Thira by the Bishop.* This priest

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*There is some evidence that island customs, associated with particular religious festivals, were disapproved of by the Bishop of Thira and were discontinued during the Thiran priest's stay. Dancing and singing at the Monastery during the festival celebrations were forbidden; the epitafios, the bier of the dead Christ, was no longer held up over the church door after the procession around the village, so that the congregation no longer re-entered the church by passing underneath it and, so they believed, they could no longer be "reborn".

The custom of elopement, which freed parents of the obligation to dower the daughter, was heavily sanctioned by a large fine, and the ruling that the marriage ceremony for an eloped couple was to be held in the cemetary church.

was recalled to Thira and the Abbot took over two vacant posts, that of village priest and that of overseer of the Monastery estates from which yearly _foro_, tribute, in the form of cheese, honey, wine and livestock is sent to the Bishop of Thira.

There are no monks at the Monastery and it seems there have been none for many years. An Englishman - a clergyman who visited Anaphi in 1881 - refers to an Abbot and three monks (Bent 1885); a later visitor (O'Connor 1929) mentions only the Abbot. The unoccupied monks' cells are used as overnight accommodation by pilgrims to the Monastery on its feast-day, September 8th, and to other feast-days held in the Monastery church.

The Abbot divides his time between the Monastery and the village. He spends most weekdays at the Monastery supervising the shepherds who care for the Monastery flocks and the workmen and half-shares tenants who work its land for grain, olives and fruit. He himself takes charge of the bees and the making of honey. Most of the produce and flocks are used to feed pilgrims to the Monastery, particularly on its festival day, September 8th, celebrating the Birth of the Virgin, when about 400 people (1966) stay overnight in the disused monks' cells on the Eve of the feast. The Abbot also has lands of his own, inherited from his father, and care of the dowry lands of his unmarried sister.

The islanders strongly suspect that the Abbot's custody of Monastery lands is based on self-interest. On several occasions village pilgrims to the Monastery were not entertained out of the Monastery storehouse, and there was often comment that Monastery produce could have been used to alleviate the hardships of elderly couples and widows with young children, and that services which the Abbot should perform as part of his priestly duties had to be paid for. The villagers need him as their priest because of his role in the events of their social and spiritual lives, but while they recognize his religious powers and respect him as the representative at village level of the Orthodox Church, they do not respect him in himself.

Unless there were important festival days to be celebrated at the village church during the week the Abbot rode in from the Monastery on a Saturday afternoon on his white mare, the harness jingling with bells, to perform the evening service on that day, the Liturgy on Sunday morning, and any christenings or churchings on Sunday afternoon, before returning to the Monastery. When in the village he stayed with an unmarried sister who baked the bread for consecration in the service and acted as intermediary between villagers and her brother to arrange particular ceremonies. The sort of everyday influence and involvement in village life and affairs which seems to be an integral

part of the role of the ordinary village priest (see Friedl 1962, p. 99), belongs in this case more to the sister than to the Abbot himself. Maraspini's analysis of the role of the Roman Catholic priest in Calimera (Maraspini 1963) throws into relief the differences in the Anaphiot situation and reinforces the distinction which the islanders express between the role and its holder. ". . . the priest is definitely the most powerful person in the village. The fact that his power is exerted in subtle ways and that it cannot be easily seen in action does not diminish its reality . . . the priest is outside society and above it . . . (he) is the moral judge and arbitrator of the village . . . he is the recognized authority on morals and can easily transform any antisocial act into a breach of the moral and religious code" (Maraspini 1963, Chapter 9). To my knowledge the Abbot was never called in to arbitrate in any quarrels which took place during my period of fieldwork. On one occasion in which he might well have done so, he remained silent and many villagers remarked on what they saw as his failure to act as mediator. There had been an explosion in the chimney of the fishermen's flour-mill engine, and the owner of the only other flour-mill in the village, Iannis Damigos, stood up in church after the Sunday morning service to swear on the ikon of Ayios Nikolaos that he had had nothing to do with it, despite gossip to the contrary. Feelings were

running high; the wives of the respective mill-owners were not on speaking terms, the fishermen boycotted Iannis' café. The occasion and the setting were a perfect opportunity for conciliation, as the policemen and the schoolmaster later remarked. The Abbot retired behind the altar screen until the church had emptied. There may have been constraints on him in his situation which were unknown both to the villagers and to me, but there were many adverse criticisms of his unwillingness in this and other situations to intervene, unless he himself was directly concerned.

In his role as village priest the Abbot receives a small salary. He also receives "gifts" of money from the parents and godparents in return for his services at christenings and for celebrating the Liturgy (the Holy Communion) on saints' days when this involves a journey to the saint's chapel. On several occasions he complained that the amount was not up to his expectations, and behind his back the villagers grumbled that they should be expected to "pay" for his services.

His duties are to say Vespers on Saturday evening, to celebrate the Liturgy on Sundays and on saints' days, to perform baptism, churching, marriage, funeral and memorial services and to hear the confessions of those intending to take communion. He also sprinkles holy water in houses, cafés and shops in connection with the festivals held on January 5th and 6th, and teaches the village schoolchildren

about their religious duties.

On request he will also perform the sacrament of Chrism for the sick, and exorcise the power of the evil eye in cases of inexplicable illness.*

The village church

The main church in the village is dedicated to Ayios Nikolaos, patron saint of sailors, fishermen and seafarers. The church stands at one side of the village square, on a small plateau at the end of the main street, facing west towards Thira. The regular weekend services are held in this church, as are most of the chief festivals. The church building is maintained by money gained from the sale of candles made from beeswax from the Monastery hives, and from offerings made during services. The Society of Émigré Anaphiots sends occasional contributions to re-building, repair and upkeep funds.

An Orthodox Church is usually square in plan, oriented facing east, with a dome in the centre of the roof and a bell-tower over the main doorway. There are no chairs or

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*The only example of a priestly exorcism during my stay took place when the police captain fainted on the way back from the Monastery after a minor festival there in May 1967. He was sure that he had been "eyed" because he had walked to the Monastery from the village in under two hours by night and suspected that this record time had attracted harmful admiration and envy.

pews in the central part, but benches or stalls along the walls. The congregation normally stands, with the older members and women with babies using the stalls to lean on or sit in at certain points of the service.* The village church on Anaphi conforms to this general pattern, but it also has a balcony at the back, on the west wall, where most of the children go.

The altar area at the east end of the church is divided from the rest of the interior by the ikonostasis, a screen of wood, into which ikons are set, and on which are hung wooden effigies of Christ and the Virgin, which are used in particular festival ceremonies. There are three doors in the altar screen. The central door is closed by double gates, behind which hangs a curtain. Outside service time and at the moment of the consecration the gates are closed and the curtain drawn. On Anaphi, and in other Greek churches I have seen, a canopied wooden throne for the Bishop is in the main part of the church against the south wall, rather than inside the sanctuary, (cf. Ware 1963, p. 277). The side walls of the church are also hung with ikons and some of these, and the majority of those set in the altar screen are hung with votive offerings. These are

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*Younger children are looked after by older siblings; occasionally they misbehave and are reproved by the women below, or by the Abbot.

usually metal plaques representing people, parts of the body or objects for which prayers were answered, but watches, rings and other jewellery are also given. Many of the more recent ikons on the side walls are gifts of émigré islanders, who tend to present the more elaborate and expensive votive offerings which are hung on the ikons. The _epitafios_ used in the Good Friday procession, 1967, was an elaborately carved litter with a domed roof, brought to the island and presented to the church by an émigré, an affinal relative of the _proedros_.

There are a number of specialised roles associated with the church on Anaphi, - the chanters, the acolytes, the cleaners and members of the church committee.

The chanters: These men sing the anthems, psalms and chants which are set for each particular Sunday or saint's day. The sequence of these is very complex and the chanters use many large books placed on a revolving lectern with a book-case in its base. Other volumes are stacked on the steps and seat of the Bishop's throne. On several occasions there was doubt as to the appropriate anthem and the service broke off while the Abbot and chanters, advised by the schoolmaster, worked out which one should be sung. During my fieldwork the chanters were the police captain, the post office clerk (a returned émigré) and Iannis Damigos, the café proprietor and flour-mill owner.

The acolytes: The Abbot is assisted at the Sunday morning service by one boy, the son of a fairly prosperous farmer. When the married policeman's family came to the island his son also began to serve on the altar and, unlike the village boy, said the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in place of one of the chanters. As no women are permitted behind the altar screen only males can assist in services, handle ritual objects and help in cleaning the sanctuary. As they must be in a state of ritual purity to touch the vessels used in the consecration it is usually boys under the age of puberty who are selected to assist in services. On occasions when ritual objects, lanterns and candles are carried in procession around the village, the schoolmaster selects a number of the older more reliable schoolboys.

The cleaners: A married woman who lives near the church sweeps and dusts the main part of the building. Her husband moves the font, the tables for use in memorial services and other cumbersome equipment from the shed built on to the church, and positions them in the church. This couple receive payment, and once during my stay a special collection was taken during the service for them. An informal voluntary band of women and girls meet to clean and decorate the village church, chapels in the village and the Monastery church for particular occasions.

<u>The Church committee</u>: The members of this committee are the Abbot, the schoolmaster, the post-office clerk, his brother, who was a smith, and an old farmer, one of whose sons had become a priest and who came to the island for the Monastery festival to assist the Abbot. As far as I know they did not meet during my stay, and no one, including the members, was very clear in conversation with me as to what their duties were.

<u>The Congregation</u>

Church attendance on Sundays is usually limited to a small proportion of those living in the village. On a typical Sunday 15 men and 30 women, with babies and small children, were in the village church, most of them arriving for the last hour of the 2½-3 hours service. The regular attenders include the chanters, the <u>proedros</u>, the schoolmaster, Georgios Rinakis, a village councillor who is a retired policeman, several pensioner-farmers, ten or so old widows, and most of the adolescent girls. All men, and some women, enter by the main door in the south wall of the church, kiss the ikon of Ayios Nikolaos which stands on a small table by the door, put a small coin on a flat dish behind the ikon, and light a candle in the free-standing brass candlestick beside the table. The men move to the front section of the church and lean on or sit in the narrow-

seated stalls along the sides, and women go to the back of the church where there is a series of wooden bars to lean on. There are a few stalls at the back for elderly and infirm women. Many women enter through either of the two small doors opening into this back section of the church, and they do not then go up to kiss the ikon or light a candle. Men never use these side doors. The women who come through the main door include the wives of prominent villagers - the wife of the _proedros_, of the policeman, the post-office clerk, doctor, councillor, schoolmaster. They are usually offered stalls at the back of the men's section, nearest to the women's section where older men may also sit. The schoolmaster's wife is the main exception to this general arrangement of positioning and seating, as she usually takes a stall beside her husband in the front section of the church beside the ikon table.

The Sunday morning service: the Divine Liturgy

The members of the congregation do not usually join in anthems or prayers. They follow the main actions of the service of the Liturgy by making the sign of the cross three times. In the Orthodox Church the sign of the cross is made with the thumb, index and middle fingers, moving from forehead to breast and then from right to left shoulder, the reverse of the practice in the Roman Catholic Church. The islanders recognize _Frangi_, "Franks", that is, Roman Catholics,

by the number of fingers and different movements they make in crossing themselves. In discussions on comparative religion and Christian denominations the islanders referred to differences in practices such as this, rather than to differences in beliefs. There was a great deal of individual variation between members of the congregation, women crossing themselves more often than men, and some women more often than others, but at certain points of the service, for example, when the curtain was drawn back after the consecration, everyone made the sign at the same time.

Nearly all the congregation file out to kiss the Abbot's hand, and the Book of the Gospels which he carries into the main part of the church at the Little Entrance. There is a point in the Liturgy when offerings are made for the names of the dead to be commemorated in certain prayers.* Members of the congregation file up to the door in the left of the altar screen to place small coins on a tray. The order in which people give their offerings asserts, as does the positioning in the church, the division of the sexes and deference to the aged balanced against position and prestige. The oldest men go first, then middle-aged men

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*I was greatly helped in following the Liturgy by Ware 1963, and by Anon: n.d., The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

including the proedros, councillors and policemen, then younger men who defer to elderly widows, older women and the wives of important villagers. Young married women come last. Unmarried girls and men do not usually go up at all as the obligation to make these offerings falls on the senior generation.

At the end of the service, the Abbot stands in the central doorway of the altar screen holding a cross and a dish of small cubes of bread - antidoron. These are taken from the same loaf as the bread used in the consecration and are blessed but not consecrated. Those who leave the church through the front section come up to kiss the cross and to take a piece of the antidoron. As I was encouraged to take some too, without inquiries as to my menstrual cycle, I assume that there are no rules about ritual purity to be observed in this context, although the bread came from the communion loaf.

Some women leave the church by the side doors and come round into the square, while all men and the women who took antidoron come out through the main door. All those women who come in through the main door leave by it. Greetings and news are exchanged in the square, the wives of important men are given messages if their husbands were not in church, and then most men go off to the cafeneion while the women linger to chat, and the children to play

around the war memorial and ruined windmills, before returning home. Only if there is a distribution after a mnemosyno (see Chapter Eight) do all the women leave through the main door to take a share from the baskets and flasks at the gateway.

Ritual purity

On the whole men are not as involved in church affairs or in religious activities in the home as are women. The housewife cleans and cares for the ikons on the wall by the marriage bed, lights an oil lamp in front of them on Saturday evenings, and encourages the children to learn to cross themselves, to kiss the ikon in the village church and to kiss the Abbot's hand. Women are hedged about with ritual prohibitions by the church; no woman can go behind the ikonostasis the altar screen; a menstruating woman cannot kiss an ikon, receive communion, nor make bread to be used in church services. Nor can she do reverence to the ikon of the Virgin at the Monastery church by prostrating herself three times before it and censing it. (The verb proskino, "I perform an act of worship" means all these actions). A woman must abstain not only from certain foods before taking communion but also from sexual intercourse for several days before and after. Estimates given me by island women varied from one week to four days before, and from one to three days afterwards. A man must also observe

fasting rules and abstain from sexual intercourse for one day before and one day after taking communion. Easter is the chief time of year when most Anaphiots take communion but women have to work out when they will be able to take it, and choose the nearest appropriate Sunday or feast day. As the Anaphiot priest was a celibate monk I did not get any information on rules for married priests and their wives. A woman cannot enter a church until forty days after childbirth (or a miscarriage or abortion), when she is first "churched" before being able to attend the usual services. It is thus on occasions when a woman's femaleness is most strongly asserted that she is defined by the church as being in a state of ritual impurity. Consequently the women who most regularly attend church services, help in festival preparations and are involved in the handling of ritual objects are post-menopausal women, often widows. Men who are impeded by fewer ritual prohibitions tend to be less regularly involved in church matters. All men attend major festivals, communicate once a year at Easter and use ritual gestures and invocations in farming, fishing and shepherding activities, but few are concerned in regular and consistent religious behaviour. Apart from the three chanters who attend every Sunday morning service, most of the men who regularly attend are elderly men who are chaffed in the <u>cafeneion</u> for being worried about the state of their souls.

Although men are not usually involved in religious activities, they are sporadically involved in festivals or involve themselves by making vows. Men carry the ikons from the church when a procession circles the village, they vie with each other to carry the Monastery church ikons, and to carry the epitafios, the flower-garlanded bier on which a wooden image of the dead Christ is laid when the congregation circle round the village by torchlight on Good Friday evening. Men serve out kolyva, sweets and liqueur after memorial services, men distribute to other men the candles which are lit during the blessing of the kolyva, and it is the men, as family heads, who light candles from the Paschal candle at the midnight service of the Resurrection and carry them home. In these examples men's involvement in religious activities stems from their maleness, which implies freedom from ritual impurity and from their position as adult male family heads.

Chapels within and outside the village

Besides the church of Ayios Nikolaos, there are eight other churches in the village itself, a chapel also dedicated to Ayios Nikolaos down by the harbour, and many chapels outside the village, on farming land, mountain slopes and craggy peaks. Thirteen such chapels were known to me by name; I visited seven of them, usually on the saint's day associated with each one. Each chapel is

dedicated to a saint or to a festival associated with events in the life of Christ or the Virgin. The festival is usually celebrated in the appropriate church or chapel. Nearly all of them were privately built to fulfil vows and hence belonged to individual islanders or their descendants. If a piece of land on which a chapel is built is sold, the buyer may take over the custodianship, but the seller usually retains his right of access to the family chapel. The buyer will be sure to propitiate the saint for his care over the land. If the chapel is outside the village, the Abbot and villagers attending the celebration set out together in the early morning to walk or ride there. If it is in one of the most distant parts of the island they set out on the Eve of the feast and spend the night in the chapel or in field cottages nearby.*

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*In his "Observations on Incubation" Hasluck (1929) comments: "Incubation means sleeping in a holy place with the intention of receiving some desired communication (by no means always in connexion with healing) from the numen supposed to inhabit the holy place . . . In modern Greece, where incubation is characteristic of outlying rather than of parish churches, many pilgrimage churches being thus in the country had no other accommodation than the church to offer pilgrims . . . In general the vigil of the saint is considered the best time for healing - that is, the time of the numen's manifestation is specialized just as his habitation is localized . . . There is, moreover, a social side to incubation, for a pilgrimage is at once a complimentary visit to the numen and a picnic excursion not in the first place for bodily health." Lawson 1964, p. 61, also refers to incubation, which he calls enkimisis, but he deals with it as a device to seek healing.

The villagers who usually attend festivals in outlying chapels are those who have lands in the area nearby and, if so, they are likely to have storehouses or field cottages with outbuildings where they can stay overnight and put up some other pilgrims. The saint is thought to protect the lands, crops and animals around his chapel if he is honoured and his feast day observed, and the islanders describe the relationship as one of mutual obligation, built up in the same way as that between neighbours or between patron and client. Many islanders refer to the saint whose chapel is near their fields as yitonas mas "our neighbour". The other reasons for attending a saint's day festival are to fulfil a vow made to the saint and to attend because the saint's day is also the name-day of a member of the natal or marital family for whom some benefit is requested. Artos, bread made with sugar and spices, is blessed during the evening service by the Abbot and distributed by those fulfilling vows to the saint. On some but not all saint's days, after the Liturgy in the morning, sweets and liqueurs are distributed by those who have the obligation to do so for the souls of dead relatives. The distinction between these two sorts of distribution is that the sweet bread - artos - is part of the obligations of an individual to the saint because of a specific vow, while the distribution after the Liturgy is one of a series over time connected

the obligation of the donor to his dead relative. The saint's festival day provides an opportunity for the distribution.

The best attended saints' days in outlying chapels which I visited were those of Ayios Antonios, January 17th, and Ayios Panteleimonos, July 27th.

Ayios Antonios: On the eve of Ayios Antonios ten people including the Abbot slept in the chapel and five in a neighbouring field cottage. A party of about fifteen villagers arrived next morning and many of the pilgrims stopped at field cottages on the return journey from the northern area of the island to celebrate the name-day of the owner of the fields near each cottage.

Ayios Panteleimonos: The chapel of Ayios Panteleimonos is on the western side of the island in an area of fertile farming land. Villagers with fields in this area stayed overnight in their field cottages, but most of the pilgrims including many Athenian émigré summer visitors made the journey to the chapel on the morning of the feast. There were over thirty adults at the service and the chapel could not hold them all. An old widow who lived near the chapel entertained the pilgrims with coffee and biscuits afterwards, and in taking these refreshments they responded with the ritual phrase O Theos sinchores' tou "May God forgive him", used at distributions for dead relatives. The widow lived

in a field cottage on her dowry land, and only came into the village where she had a house for the major festivals of Easter and the Assumption of the Virgin. She journeyed from the village to the Monastery to attend the feast day there in September. Her hospitality to the pilgrims was seen as a substitute for a mnemosyno distribution. The cycle of such memorial ceremonies for the soul of her husband was long finished, but she voluntarily prolonged it in this way.

Ayios Iannis Theologos: Occasionally the owner or custodian of a chapel dedicated to a saint with another more accessible chapel elsewhere on the island* will ask the Abbot to celebrate the saint's day in the distant chapel as an opportunity to propitiate the saint, look over their lands and see the chapel's state of repair. In these cases the gift of money given to the Abbot is expressed as a payment for his trouble, as he could choose to celebrate the festival in the saint's other chapel. On May 8th 1967, the feast day of Saint John the Theologian, I accompanied the Abbot, the grocer and an old widow to her family's chapel in the northern area of the island, a good two hours' walk from

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*There were two chapels dedicated to Christ on the Cross, one in the village, one in the centre of the island; two dedicated to Ayia Paraskevi, two to Ayios Nikolaos, two to Ayios Georgios, two to Ayios Iannis Theologos.

the village. The chapel and the lands around it were the patrimony of her son, president of the Émigré Anaphiot Society in Athens, and nearby were the dowry lands of her two daughters both living in Athens, where they were sent the cheese rent from the shepherds whose flocks grazed the mountain slopes. The widow's own dowry lands were on the south coast of the island, worked half-shares by a villager. Her namesake granddaughter would inherit these fields. After the Liturgy the widow provided sweets and liqueur and the Abbot and the grocer "forgave" her husband before taking a share, then wished long life and happy days to her, her children and grandchildren. The grocer then made an estimate of how much cement and whitewash would be needed for repairs and repainting the chapel. He said this was his first visit to the chapel, as he had never before had any cause to go there, his lands being in another part of the island.

The Monastery

At the eastern end of the island, at the foot of Mount Kalamos, stands the Monastery dedicated to the feast of the Birth of the Virgin by her island epithet, Kalamiotissa, the Virgin of the Reed. It was said that a miraculous ikon was found on Mount Kalamos hung on a reed; a chapel to house it was built on the peak of the mountain but after the building was struck by lightning and weakened

by earthquake tremors, the ikon was moved to the Monastery church which at that time was dedicated to the Feast of the Life-Giving Spring, Zoodochou Piyis. Even though the original ikon is now missing and replaced by a larger, more recently painted ikon of the Virgin and Child, its cult continues. Vows, votive offerings and penances are made there, gifts of money for its upkeep and improvement are given by émigré Anaphiotes and children born of difficult births are vowed to and named for the Virgin. Boys are called Panayiotis, girls are named Kalamiotissa. The Monastery is built inside the walls of a pre-Christian temple to Apollo Asgelaetis, the remains of which have been incorporated into cells, the refectory and the Monastery gate (Hiller von Gaertringen, 1899). Workmen and shepherds employed on the Monastery estate (as there are no longer monks there to work on it) live in cottages outside the walls.

Yenesis tis Theotokou Kalamiotissas

The festival held at the Monastery to celebrate the feast of the Birth of the Virgin, September 8th, is one of the most important religious events of the islanders' year. It provides an opportunity and incentive for visits to the island by those who have migrated permanently from the island and by the descendants of those who migrated earlier, and unites them with the resident Anaphiotes in a common

ceremony and a feast. The émigré summer visitors already staying on the island are joined by other members of the Anaphiot community in Athens, by pilgrims from Thira, and occasionally by pilgrims from other islands. The steamer which makes its weekly visit before and after the Monastery festival is crowded with pilgrims (about 200 adults in 1966), the only time of the year, says the captain, when the stop at Anaphi is financially worthwhile for the steamer company.* (This company holds its contract only on condition that its boats visit such isolated and unprofitable islands as well as the main Cycladic islands).

When I attended the Monastery celebrations in September 1966, I accompanied a group of women who went to the Monastery two days before the festival day to prepare the church building, to make bread, and to cook for the meal on the Eve of the feast. Most of these women were resident islanders and were there to fulfil vows made to the Virgin in return for Her aid in restoring health, or in ensuring safety and success in some enterprise for the woman or members of her family. In a few cases the vow involved

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*Ninety-six adult passengers left Anaphi to return to Athens after the September 8th festival on the steamer which called on September 14th 1966, and forty left the following week. The usual number of steamer passengers from Anaphi is between two and six.

walking to the Monastery silent and "barefoot", that is, in plastic sandals without socks or stockings. Before a service held on the evening of September 6th, the women dictated to the Abbot the names of those for whom their prayers had been answered and each of them gave him some money. At the service he read out the list of names while the helpers knelt round his feet holding candles. A few women summer visitors also came to help in the preparations. One of them had a Liturgy said on the morning of September 7th; it was hinted to me by her islander father that she had come as a suppliant to the Virgin because of her childlessness, not in order to fulfil an answered vow. Her father accompanied her and helped the Abbot to clean behind the altar screen, to take down the ikons for the women to dust, and to do various heavy jobs besides those which women were for bidden to do. The tissues and cotton wool used in cleaning the ikons were kept as "powerful amulets". Water used to wash ritual objects, in which women washed their hands after finishing the cleaning, was poured away down a special drain. Care was taken not to spill this water on to the ground, and I was reproved for shaking my hands dry and scattering drops of water outside the basin. I was asked whether I was "_kathari_" (literally "pure" - in this context not menstruating) before I was allowed to help clean ritual objects. Although I helped in making the bread

which would be eaten by pilgrims at the feast, I was again asked whether I was in a state of ritual purity before helping with the bread used in distributions on the Eve of the Feast. Neither I nor any of the other women touched the bread which had been made by the Abbot's sister to be consecrated in the Liturgy. The ikon of the Virgin was decorated with a white tulle ruffle twined with red, white, orange and pink plastic flowers. The girl who sewed the ruffle said that she had made a vow to help at the festival when she was taken to the hospital on Syros for an appendix operation.

It seems clear that the Monastery can always be assured of a band of helpers, whether suppliants or those fulfilling vows, but it is also clear that the composition of this band will vary slightly from year to year as women cannot take part if they are menstruating, pregnant or recently delivered. The essential role is that of a ritually pure woman who makes the communion bread, and this was carried out by the Abbot's unmarried post-menopausal sister, the implication being that her virginity made her eminently suitable for such a role at this particular feast.

On the afternoon of September 7th two cafés were set up in disused rooms inside the Monastery walls, and the Tachydromos brought boxes of sweets and biscuits to sell. The cafés did a brisk trade next day when the pilgrims

began to arrive on donkeys, on foot and by the fishermen's caique. On arrival the pilgrims went into the church, knelt in front of the ikon of the Virgin and bowed forward, touching the ground with their foreheads. They did this three times, and some also went round the church, stopping in front of each ikon making the sign of the cross with a cup of incense. Some of the village men and nearly all the young émigré male visitors spent the day partridge shooting on the slopes of Mount Kalamos, and a party of young people climbed the mountain to visit the ruined chapel on its knife-edge summit. They took incense and candles with them to burn there.

In the meantime eight sheep and goats from the Monastery flocks were slaughtered; the hides hung in trees to dry, the innards were cooked up for a lunch for the helpers, and the meat was chopped up to be cooked with spaghetti for the evening feasting. The slaughtering, skinning and quartering was done by men. By evening a crowd of three-hundred to four-hundred people had collected. The helpers locked the cells in which they were sleeping to keep out the crowds, and the other pilgrims were crowded into the remaining disused cells for the overnight stay. Among those who arrived on the steamer that morning was a priest from an island off Paros

who came to assist the Abbot in the ceremonies. He was the son of an island family, his father was on the church committee and his niece was one of the band of helpers. At the evening service artos, bread made with sugar, was blessed and distributed to the congregation. Then the food was served in three sittings during which another service took place. A number of people spent the night in the church, some stayed up all night drinking in the cafés, and the young people went to dance to a battery gramophone set up beside a threshing floor outside the Monastery walls.

The feast day itself, September 8th, began with the Liturgy. There were over one hundred people in the church, and a huge crowd around the doorway. Most of the summer visitors had brought large white candles from Athens, some of which appeared to have been used before, and I was told they had first been lit at christenings and weddings. After the service the altar objects and ikons were carried in procession, circling the church three times. The ikon of the Virgin was carried by the childless woman's father. It was protected from the slight sprinkling of rain by a polythene bag, which also prevented the votive offerings from falling off. At the end of the procession the congregation queued up to take pieces of the communion loaf and to take oil which had been blessed during the various services over the festival time and was thought to be effective in

curing certain ailments. Soon afterwards people began to leave. The island fishermen's caique, together with a larger fishing boat which had called at the island that day, and also a large dinghy, ferried pilgrims back to the harbour of Ayios Nikolaos below the village. A few summer visitors had their own motor boats. That night in the village there were many parties in private houses and in the cafés; the island musicians were hired to play for dancing. It seemed that the visiting émigrés took the initiative in these celebrations and were more anxious than the islanders to preserve the old island customs. They shouted for the goatskin bagpipes and drum, while the young island girls and men went off to dance to the battery gramophone brought by their city cousins.

The Sunday following the festival was marked by a memorial service for five dead islanders, two of whom were exhumed. On this occasion émigré relatives of the dead provided sweets and liqueur which they had brought from Athens. The dishes of kolyva were elaborately decorated, and flanked by white candles, in contrast to the golden-brown beeswax candles made on the island (see Chapter Eight). One émigré arranged with the three café owners for free coffees to be served to members of the congregation who went in after the service, and this was regarded as part of the distribution and the appropriate ritual phrase

was said before the coffee was drunk.

That evening a dance was held in the school, and meat and wine were served in aid of funds to build a larger dining room and kitchen. Again the island musicians played and the émigré visitors led the dancing and made generous public donations to the fund, to rounds of applause from each other. Island women and children clustered around the door and sat around the side of the room, but few took part. Towards the end of the dancing in the school, the musicians began to improvise verses about the dancers, some of whom replied in song, but as far as I could tell the songs were goodnatured jests between men and did not seem to fit the description of ritual insults customarily thrown between bands of men and of women at Anaphiot festivals (see Chatzopoulou, 1927).

At this time of the year many of the married island men are still in Athens engaged in summer seasonal labouring and building jobs, and this may be seen as a contributory factor in the émigré visitors' prominent role in organizing and participating in the celebrations. The festival appeared to be more a focus of island patriotism for the émigrés than for resident islanders who were rarely faced with situations in which they had to assert an identification at a level higher than family or neighbourhood within the island. The festival offered the émigrés a means

of asserting their ties to Anaphi through observance of customs associated with the feast day and by carrying out the memorial services which linked them to their island forbears. Just so, seasonal migrants from the island to the mainland spent their leisure time within a limited circle of Anaphiot-owned and patronised cafés and restaurants. The émigrés are involved in the Monastery festival precisely because they are émigrés, while the resident islanders do not need to assert their island identity to the same extent.

The church and the island year

Not only do church rituals mark the major events of human life and ensure the fate of the soul, they also provide a cycle of feasts and fasts which corresponds to the farming and shepherding year. The church's year offers fixed points on which to compare with other years the growth of crops, the state of the weather, or the number of lambs and kids born. The summer and winterrenting of pasturage run from particular saints' days and national, village and family events are linked to church festivals. The cycle of feasts and fasts affect the life of the whole village and the behaviour of individual men and women.

All islanders should, and generally do, observe the church's edict forbidding "work" on Sundays, certain saints' days and at Easter. Animals must be fed and watered and a

minimum of household tasks carried out, but no job which can reasonably be postponed until the following day should be done. At harvest time, or when there has been illness in the family, or there is a journey to prepare for, the islanders say that God will understand that they are forced to do these tasks from necessity and are not breaking His Law out of perversity (see discussion on "Work", Chapter Four). The kinds of "work" which are not done on Sundays are those activities most visible to other islanders. The sanctions of public opinion rather than those of the church seem to count most, and the rewards of approval for conformity as well as the reward of leisure rather than the rewards of obedience to religious laws seem to be the guiding principles of behaviour.

Further evidence for this interpretation comes from behaviour during fasts. The general prohibition on meat, fish and oil on Wednesdays and Fridays is seldom observed. It is argued that island men have strenuous work to do which demands "heavy" foods. The fasts before Christmas and the Dormition of the Virgin (August 15th) are not closely observed, but there is greater secrecy than usual about what supplies are brought in from the fields, what provisions are bought, and what is eaten at home, to prevent the disclosure of any evidence which might be advantageous for opponents in quarrels or for derogatory character estimation.

There is greater fear of public opinion against breaking the fast during Lent. Most islanders tend to observe the fast during the last week. All observe the prohibitions on Good Friday, abstaining from oil, meat, fish, eggs, cheese and milk. During the last fortnight in Lent no animal ought to be slaughtered nor should meat be sold, but in fact an under-the-counter trade is carried on and concealed from the policemen. There are devout individuals who observe fast days and carry out all the prescribed religious duties. The islanders comment that these are nearly always old people who have begun to worry about the state of their souls and their fate after death. It was said that such old people hastened their own deaths by rigorously observing the Lenten fast.

The abstinence from milk, cheese and eggs during Lent corresponds with the period when shepherds are making cheeses with which to pay rent for grazing land and when housewives are collecting eggs to mix with soft cheese in preparation of special cakes for the Easter celebrations. Thus, even if fasting is not strictly observed, there is a shortage of these commodities in the weeks before Easter. At this time too the shepherds are selecting beasts from their flocks for sale to the meat-merchants and to individual island families for the Easter feasting. Households with their own few sheep and goats choose a lamb or

kid for themselves, and hence meat is not generally available.

Church festivals

The major feasts are associated with particular foods and types of cooking: the Easter lamb and cheese-cakes have already been mentioned. At Easter* each family roasts its own meat, sealing the joint in the courtyard oven to be opened after the midnight service. Even when oven-space is shared with a neighbouring old couple or widow, each household goes to eat separately. It is rare for a family to invite guests for this Easter meal, the assumption being that all residents on the island will have their own family to go to. At New Year, on Ayios Vasilis' day, bread flavoured and coloured with saffron is made, and a large cake, the Vasilopitta, is baked with a coin in the mixture. After the church service the family return home, gather round the table, and the head of the

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* Up to the end of World War I, all Orthodox churches used the Old Style or Julian Calendar, 13 days behind the New or Gregorian Calendar. In 1924 Constantinople introduced the New Calendar which was adopted by some but not all Orthodox Christians. But while celebrating Christmas and Epiphany according to the New Style Calendar (25th December and 6th January) practically the whole Orthodox Church observes Easter at the same time, reckoning it by the Julian Calendar. This means that the Orthodox date of Easter sometimes coincides with the western, but at other times it is one, four or five weeks later.

family marks the cake with the sign of the cross and divides it into segments, a piece for each member of the family and two extra slices assigned to Christ, and the whole household. Whoever gets the slice with the coin is thought to have good luck for the coming year, but if none of the family find the coin the last two slices are cut up to find out whether the coin is in the slice assigned to Christ, in which case He will be close to the family for the year, or in the household piece, which means that the whole family will have good luck. After this the pieces can be served to guests.

The Family and the "Community of Faithful Souls".

The sharing out of the Vasilopitta serves to illustrate the Anaphiot attitude, that the fortunes of each nuclear family are basically separate and independent. Individuals in the community owe prime loyalty to their natal or marital family whose ties to God, Christ, the Virgin and the saints are established and maintained on the family's own account. Ties to other individuals and their families are secondary. The religious community can be seen as composed of separate nuclear families, each with its own set of relationships to spiritual beings, rather than as a "community of faithful souls," whose loyalty to one another cross-cuts family boundaries. Attention to the claims of others because they too are Christiani is important, but overriding loyalties are to family and kin.

This interpretation is perhaps overstressed. The only institution which is capable of uniting members of the island community is the church. Church services and festivals in particular are the chief occasions on which unrelated villagers, and those from different neighbourhoods, meet together in a setting where the basic elements of belief are agreed on, even if not accepted or practised. Communal, co-operative and unpaid services are performed for the church by unrelated islanders who never join together in other spheres of their lives. Women and girls work together to prepare churches and chapels for festivals. Village men gave days of unpaid labour to rebuild, plaster and paint village chapels ruined during the Thiran earthquake of 1956. The same earthquake tremors blocked a spring by the most fertile farming land at Vayia on the western side of the island, but the group of landholders there refused to co-operate in clearing the spring and rebuilding the cistern. It was said that each farmer feared that the others might get more advantages from the newly-made cistern by the spring. Co-operative work for the church, on the other hand, benefits both the individual workman or woman helper and the whole community, but gives no advantage to any individual or group at intermediate levels.

The existence of two apparently inconsistent systems

of beliefs affecting behaviour in the religious context became a great problem in my observation and interpretation of data in this context. It is clear that shared beliefs and behaviour involved all islanders. Everyone is affected by the rules on fasting, observing Sundays and saints' days. The church provides the setting for the expression of those characteristics which all Anaphiots share as human beings, as Greeks and as members of the island community. It is also clear that differences between members of the island community in terms of sex, age and general family position are affirmed in religious activities, most obviously in the positioning and seating in the church building. Individuals seek preferential favours for themselves and their nuclear family from the saints and maintain the ideology of the independence and self-containedness of each nuclear family. Yet in discharging family obligations, particularly in carrying out the cycle of memorial services, the individual defines himself as a member of the Anaphiot moral community and involves other members in the fate of the soul of his deceased relative through the distribution of kolyva and other foods after the memorial services.

In this example, and at baptisms, weddings and funerals, the role of the congregation can also be interpreted as that of audience and witness. Details of behaviour and dress of the "actors", and of the quantity,

quality and arrangements in the distributions are discussed at the time, and again later in the cafeneion and in the women's evening gossip groups. Gearing (1968) distinguishes rituals such as these which require an audience and which reiterate "the largest single fact of village social structure, the very large measure of autonomy and ultimate self-reliance of the nuclear family" (p.66) from those in which there is no audience, "the total congregation performing for itself", so that the participants "express some common identification which overrides their respective family memberships." These common identifications are village membership, Greek nationality and common humanity. In his analysis Gearing is concerned to show that the cycle of church ritual is related to and expresses the history of Greece and Greek nationalism. He touches on the problem of the community level of religious activity by saying "they (villagers of Kardamili) call their Greekness strongly to the fore, and their village membership and their common humanity are, relatively, ignored." The universalist ethic involved in Christianity is, he claims, "de-emphasized except where it has especially direct application to one's Greekness". Campbell treats this point in great detail in his analysis of the way in which the Sarakatsani select only those tenets of Christianity which are not radically inconsistent with their code of honour and shame. (Campbell 1964).

However, Gearing does not deal with the problem of the village community except by stating that the Liturgy on the name-day of the major village church "is well attended, but that is all. Nearby villages on their respective days dance all day and night; Kardamili considers this "countrified" and for many years the village day has been ignored".* This does not seem to me to be a sufficient explanation for dropping the occasion for celebrating as a village community, and it again poses the question of whether the Anaphiot religious community acts as anything more than an audience for family rituals and a reference group through which each family is linked to the Greek nation.

The islanders' attitude to religion seems to be mostly pragmatic and sceptical. Religious objects, gestures and symbols pervade everyday life and are expected to produce the desired consequences mechanically. Rising dough is marked with the sign of the cross, a day's ploughing begins with an invocation to Christ and the Virgin,

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Cf.* "If the formal organization of church affairs involves village-wide action or concern only in times of crisis, certain feasts and ceremonies of the Greek Orthodox Church certainly provide a focus of interest for the entire village at regular intervals during the year", ". . . rites and the accompanying customs provide activities in which all villagers participate at the same time and within the confines of Vasilika". (Friedl 1962, pp. 100, 103).

harvesting ends with a shout of praise, oil is measured out from the wooden trough below the olive press after being marked three times in the sign of the cross, and ikons and holy medals are hung on boats, flour-mill engines and on transistor radios to ensure their working and to protect the machinery from the results of envy and admiration.

The Eye

The islanders believe that admiration, expressed or unspoken, is able to harm the object which is admired, whether it is a person, animal, house, land, spring or machine. There may be no voluntary ill-will but the admiration saps the strength and essence of the object, opening it up to disease, blight or disaster. The affected person or object is said to have been "eyed" as the beholder first notices and then transmits admiration and envy with his eyes. To avert the possibility of misfortune anyone who comments on a child, a healthy animal, a fertile field, a fine piece of embroidery, invokes the name of the Virgin: "What a fine child, the All Holy One be with him"; "What beautiful sewing, the Virgin be with your hands". When the object admired is not so important, such as a batch of perfectly baked cakes, the admirer - usually a neighbouring housewife - says "garlic", a reference to its use in amulets and potions concocted to fend off or cure the condition of

being "eyed". If the averting phrases are forgotten, or deliberately withheld, or if a glance is interpreted as admiring and therefore inherently harmful, the person looked at, the child's mother, or the owner of the beast or property, makes a gesture with the five fingers of the hand spread out, and the palm of the hand facing outwards (<u>mountza</u>) to ward off possible misfortune. Probably because this implies that someone nearby is capable either voluntarily or involuntarily of exerting the power of the Eye, the gesture of "throwing the five" can be interpreted or made as an insult, and by an extension of the idea, a gift of five objects such as eggs, fruit, cakes etc., can also be taken as an insult.

Because one is not always aware of admiration or envy children, animals and other property are protected from these forces by amulets and blue beads. Most donkeys, mules and horses have a blue bead on their harness, and all young children wear a small heart-shaped amulet, like a tiny pincushion, pinned on to the back of their vests over the left shoulder-blade. These amulets are made up from garlic, holy oil, pieces of palm leaf blessed on Palm Sunday, pieces of fishing net ("because it is made up of crosses") and various plant and animal remains, including the skeleton of a bat stuffed into a fabric bag. Rabbit hutches, hen-runs and stables are protected by a bulb of wild garlic

stuck with five pieces of twig analogous to the outspread hand "throwing the five". If these preventative amulets prove to be ineffective the resultant illness, incapacity or failure, is treated by cures involving religious elements. Invocations to Christ, the Virgin and various saints are made, holy water or oil is sprinkled on the affected person or animal, and in the last resort the Abbot is called in to perform an exorcism.

Before such treatments the affliction must first be diagnosed as due to the power of the Eye. In the cases I witnessed, a drop of kitchen oil was poured into a glass of water which was moved in the sign of the cross, while prayers or invocations were murmured under the breath. If the oil diffused, the ailment could be attributed to the Eye, whereas if it hung suspended there were other causes. In these cases the diagnosis was also regarded as cure, for the power of the Eye was thought to melt away just as the oil had diffused under the opposing power of the invocations and prayers. Most island women handled their own diagnoses, cures and amulet making, but occasionally a specialist would be called in informally. For example, a group of women were discussing a baby's inexplicable crying; the Eye was suspected and one of the women asked for a glass of water and oil to make a diagnosis. On another occasion, after returning from a baptism, I suddenly felt dizzy while sitting in a

café. A child was sent to call the only male Eye specialist from another café and he diagnosed that I had been "eyed" at the baptismal party. This man, the Tachydromos, was called in because I was in an all-male setting. I suspect he was the specialist to whom men went in cases when it was not suitable to consult a woman practitioner, particularly in cases concerning sexual potency. The chief women specialists were the wife of the post-office clerk and the adolescent daughter of Georgios Rinakis, the retired policeman. They were referred to as the most effective practitioners, and I saw them being consulted many times.

Both men and women can have the reputation of possessing the "Eye", and although there are references to the belief elsewhere in Greece that blue eyes are particularly likely to indicate the possession of this power, none of the blue, grey or green-eyed Anaphiots were ever mentioned in this context. One old farmer was always quoted as having a powerful "Eye". Numerous cases were cited where he had admired animals which promptly died, springs which dried up and crops which withered. He is said to refuse to say the averting phrase because it makes him sound "like a superstitious woman grocer." Anyone who passes him makes the sign against the Eye in secret. Only on one occasion did I hear his married daughter mentioned as

the only possible person who could have "eyed" and thus soured some dough. Otherwise there is no evidence that the power of the Eye or skill as a practitioner is heritable.

There are other women specialists whose chief skill is knowledge of herbal remedies. In contrast to the women who only made diagnoses for the Eye, the folk-medicine specialists, mostly elderly women, give injections, act as midwives and make up potions and poultices. Medallions and prayers are used in their treatments.

Only after exhausting this range of practitioners will a sick person consult the doctor or the Abbot and make a vow to island saints in return for a cure. On the whole it was women who made vows which entailed help at saints' festivals or a"barefoot" walk to the Monastery, and men who vowed to carry the saint-healer's ikon in procession on the festival day.

Belief and behaviour

Constant reference to saints' days, interjections in conversations invoking the blessing and protection of the Virgin or saints, the shelf of ikons and ritual objects in every house, and the use of medallions and crosses as amulets for people, animals and machinery, gives the impression of a community in which religious belief provides an integral part of daily life. In a sense this is a valid impression. The islanders' world view, their ideas

on the nature of man, the course of events and the bases of human relationships have an unquestioned religious background. This contains elements of the canonical teaching of the church, the particular interpretation of certain aspects of dogma and ceremony in the island context, and a set of non-canonical beliefs and practices which incorporates religious symbols. And yet, as I have tried to argue, it is not belief itself which is important, it is behaviour. To be an acceptable and accepted member of the community one must behave in the expected way, carrying out one's minimum of obligations as a Christianos. Compared with the Sarakatsani, the Anaphiots have a closer contact with the Orthodox church in its institutionalised form of church buildings and a priest. Campbell's analysis is concerned to show that while the Sarakatsani have a tenuous relationship with the church in terms of attendance at services, belief in God, the Virgin, Christ, and the hierarchies of angels and saints pervades their actions. They recognize the conflict between the tenets of Christianity, an ideal life, and the exigencies of social life involving misrepresentation, lies and aggression. The Anaphiots also recognize the contrast between what ought to be and what is the state of family and community relationships. In the same way as the Sarakatsani, islanders seem to select from the moral precepts of church teaching those which correspond

with the prime values of island life. While a man should ideally try to be honest and forbearing, the duties and obligations of family life come first, so that he must compete ruthlessly for work and for patronage, take advantage of any contacts and influential people who have obligations to him, build up relationships based on such reciprocal obligations, try to avoid being entangled in any such relationship himself, and calculate the short and long-term results of all his actions. The principle of self interest dominates those of fellowship and co-operation, while the sanctions on outrageously anti-social and selfish behaviour seem to me to be those of shame in being found out rather than those of guilt from the internalised conscience.

CHAPTER SIX

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY-HOUSEHOLD

Family and Household

Each household is based on the nuclear family. On marriage both partners leave their natal families for a house which is given to the bride by her parents as the basic and essential element in her dowry. This pattern of household organization contrasts with Campbell's description of the joint households of married brothers among the Sarakatsani (Campbell 1964, p. 44), and with Friedl's account of co-resident siblings in Vasilia (Friedl 1962, p.60).

The aim of each household is to be an economically self-sufficient and independent unit. It is an ideal which few households approach. To achieve economic independence a household must create a network of contacts for employment and reciprocal services to be able to make claims on others. The man who is household head is forced to put himself in a position where claims can be made on him and hence he loses his independence. No family can be socially independent without being socially isolated; it is impossible to approach self-sufficiency without involvement in many different types of social relationship based on mutual

services.

Ties between households

There are networks of different and overlapping ties between family households. Different types of ties include: kinship, affinal, and koumbaros relationships, contractual ties between employers and workmen, ties of neighbourhood between households in certain areas of the village, or between those whose land-holdings are near each other.

Each kind of tie involves certain rights, obligations and expectations. As the link between any two households is likely to be made up of several sorts of tie, the way in which the associated rights and duties are expressed directly and indirectly in the total relationship of household to household, is variable and capable of manipulation because there is no way of deciding exactly how that particular combination should be expressed. This is the level of organization, in Firth's terms (Firth 1964, p. 35), the level of action based on choices, decisions and judgements of relative value in the light of structural principles.

These networks of multiplex ties and their practical expression in mutual interaction are nonetheless ties between family households striving for economic self-sufficiency and social independence. The basic social unit is thus the nuclear family household with its aim of independence. The island population as a whole have a sense of

unity as Anaphiots, as a moral community and as a corporate group; identities which have specific recruitment criteria which can usually only be acquired from the family unit.

Between the family unit and the island community as a whole there are no intervening formal levels. There are no combinations of units which act as groups, such as groups of married siblings, households in a particular neighbourhood, farmers with land in one area of the island. This is not to say that there are no categories of people whose roles have normative values such as women, as opposed to men, , or to unmarried girls; shepherds as opposed to farmers or fishermen; supporters of one faction of the village council vis-à-vis the other faction's supporters. What is important is that besides the family and the island, there are no groups which act corporately.

Although there are no levels higher than the family at which units are combined into larger units, there are cross-cutting ties between families. Each family has a specific network through which it creates, maintains and manipulates relationships which are intended to advance its aim of self sufficiency, but which in practice mesh the family even more strongly into situations of reciprocal obligation. This is why it is essential to look at family structure and organization. The family is a vital focus of interest for the observer because it is *the* unit of

identification and action for the actors.

In this and the following chapter I discuss the relation between ideas, principles and action, as revealed in the structure and organization of kinship, marriage and the family on Anaphi. The ideas find their simplest visible expression through things which any casual visitor to the island can see: dwellings, fields and graves. These tangible "girders" of the social system are linked to related patterns of behaviour; the sharing of the family estate through dowry and inheritance, the performance of funerary and memorial ceremonies for the souls of the dead, and the naming of children. Underlying these patterns of behaviour are sets of principles, embodied in the values placed on nuclear family independence and self-sufficiency, the moral obligations of ritual kinship, and the concepts of honour and shame. Some of these principles can be found in other parts of Greece and the Mediterranean; but on Anaphi they form a systematic arrangement according to which the islanders explain, evaluate and regulate social action. The interconnections between these principles have not been shown before.

Marriage

A new household is created when a newly-married couple moves into the bride's dowry house, provided for her by her parents. Through marriage each partner achieves

full adult status. An unmarried person is regarded as incomplete, tied to a system of relationships through the natal family only, in which he or she can only play a subordinate role. With the exception of the higher ranks of the church, in which monastic vows are a substitute for marriage, an adult unmarried person is socially regarded as less than a full adult.

A girl receives her share of the natal family estate when she marries, and she has no further claim on her parents in this respect; her role as a wife supplants in almost all contexts her role as a daughter. As long as a son remains in the natal family he is expected to show respect and deference to his father, and usually does so. When he marries he enters a social context similar to his father's, he is no longer regarded as a subordinate but as an equal. As the head of a household he is no longer an unpaid member of the family labour force, but one whose help must be reciprocated or paid for. Married status confirms the right to initiate and establish a network independent of his natal family. The marriage sponsor, <u>koumbaros</u>, is the first choice of this sort which is made, the first exercising of the new power inherent in the new status. This is where the unmarried person is deprived of full adult status.

Most marriages take place between members of resident

island families. Sometimes a young man from the émigré community in Athens marries an island girl whom he has no more than seen on his annual summer holiday on the island, and sometimes an island girl who goes to work in Athens will marry a member of the émigré community whom she meets there. It is rare for any islander, whether migrant or not, to marry someone with no connections with Anaphi, - a <u>xenos</u> or <u>xeni</u>. Some island women married political exiles from all over the Greek mainland who lived on the island during the 1930s, and a few married visiting fishermen. Some migrant men married non-Anaphiot city girls. There is no case where an émigré girl married an Anaphiot man living on the island. Thus, in the majority of cases the field of choice of possible spouse consists of the island and the émigré community. The field is further limited by the rule of canon law which forbids marriage between relatives nearer than third cousin, and between the families of those who have a <u>koumbaros</u> relationship. The range of choice is also limited by island values as to the health, wealth, honour and age appropriate in the specific situation.

<u>Choosing a spouse</u>

(1) <u>Health:</u> Physical fitness is an essential attribute for both bride and groom in nearly all island marriages. Except for jobs such as schoolmaster and post-office clerk,

the activities open to male islanders all demand strength and endurance, with practical knowledge and technical skill as desirable extras. A man with a special skill (glazier, potter, blacksmith etc.), or with a monopoly (draught cattle, a boat) has a better chance of establishing relationships of mutual obligation within the island, or of getting higher paid jobs in Athens, than one who is an unskilled labourer. A woman must be fit to carry out those tasks required of her as a housewife and member of the family labour force. She must be able to draw up water from the courtyard cistern, stoke the oven with thorn branches on bread-making days, walk long distances across the island on steep and rocky paths to harvest grain, pick olives, and tend garden land. Health is thus a "given" in choosing a spouse.

(2) Honour: Before marriage an individual's personal reputation for honour is evaluated according to sex, age and generational position, viewed in the context of the natal family. The family is judged on the honour of its antecedents, the families from which the spouses come, and on the behaviour of its present members. Thus in choosing a spouse reputation for honour is vital, not just in the context of the alliance, but for future evaluation of the newly created family's honour. As the discussion under "health" and "wealth" indicate, honour is evaluated according to a family's economic and social position at particular

stages of the domestic cycle, and according to the way in which individuals live up to the male and female aspects of the concept of honour, through male forcefulness and female modesty. The concept of honour is acted out differently in different Greek communities: honour for the Sarakatsani is upheld and avenged in feuds and reciprocal killings (Campbell 1964, p. 193); the Maniots of the Peloponnese fought long battles against other Maniot clans from stone towers with cannons imported from Woolwich and Constantinople (Lineton: personal communication); the farmers of Vasilika gain honour from material success and the social mobility of their children, and use words to knife each other (Friedl 1962, p.83). On Anaphi honour comes from the extent to which a family becomes economically self-sufficient, through the astuteness and hard work of the male family head, from the industry and modesty of its female members. A man's position among his peers, his own self-respect, and the respect accorded to him by other islanders, which together make up his honour, _philotimo_, depends on his antecedents, on his own ability, actions and attitudes, and on the behaviour and reputation of members of his family, particularly of his wife and daughters.

(3) _Age_: It is clear from an examination of data on marriages collected from the village register, that men tend to marry girls of between one and six years younger, (see

Figure 13, Demographic Appendix). The modal age of marriage is 22 years for women and 27 for men. Cases in which the husband or wife's age fell far outside this range tended to involve dowry difficulties, and family and personal scandals. To choose a spouse outside the expected age range would reflect badly on the chooser and the chosen, even if there were no known dishonour in either family. The field of choice is thus limited by general expectations as to the appropriate relative ages of spouses and to suitable ages for marriage.

(a) Order of marriage of siblings: There is no feeling among Anaphiots that men must wait until their sisters are married before they can look for a wife. The junior members of a family tend to marry at the age "expected" for their sex, so that the order in which siblings marry roughly follows birth order, with variations related to the expectation that women will marry at about 22 years of age and men at the age of 27.

(b) Remarriage: Greek Orthodox Church Law states that no more than three wedding services can be performed for any individual. The formal rule is thus that only two remarriages are permitted. The informal rules relate remarriage to a subtle loss in reputation and honour. The situation of a widow or widower is in itself a social disability, whether or not there are children. A surviving

partner who is still young enough to remarry is judged to have been somehow contaminated by the premature death of the spouse. The social stigma attached to early widow - or widower-hood seems to stem from ideas which relate to honour and health. Young widows and widowers are felt to have dropped in status. The stigma is carried over in appraising the family of remarriage, so that both the previously married partner and the new spouse are felt to have lost honour and status.

Remarriage is thus a rare occurrence on Anaphi. There are two known cases. The first concerns a woman born in 1893 who married three times, each marriage being childless. According to church law it was impossible for her to marry a fourth time. At the time of fieldwork she ran a café patronized by unmarried boys and men. This case is discussed further under "De Facto Unions" (p.248).

The second case is that of a farmer, born in 1929, who married first when he was about 25 years old. The first wife aged 22, bore him two children and then died in the fifth year of marriage from the results, so it was rumoured, of a self-induced abortion. The farmer was married again within the year to a woman four years older, who was generally regarded as a slut. Her siblings were all in Athens and she had no close kin on the island. The elder child of the first marriage remained with her father; the younger, a boy,

was taken to Athens by his childless godparents. The farmer, his second wife, their three children and the 12-year-old daughter of the first wife, now live in the second wife's small dowry house. The dead wife's dowry house is kept in readiness for the daughter of that marriage, the two daughters of the second marriage must be provided with dowries out of the joint estate of their mother and father.

Remarriage thus poses problems for the division of the estate between the children of the first and second marriages. Widows with young children receive a grant from the state which they lose if they remarry, and a man who marries a widow must provide a livelihood for her children, even if their inheritance comes from their dead father's estate. A widower is not likely to obtain a well-dowered second wife, but it is not so difficult for him to find a spouse as it is for a widow.

(4) Wealth: Wealth is assessed in terms of potential, and is in many ways related to health. A girl and her parents have an interest in a man's assets of strength and skill because these will establish the new household. The man's earning power must be sufficient to maintain the newly married couple. A further consideration is the amount he will get as his share of his natal family estate when his parents die. It is easier to work out the wealth component in the assessment of a girl as a possible spouse,

for a girl receives her share of her natal family estate at marriage as her dowry.

The basis and essential element in a girl's dowry is a house. Parents are expected to provide a furnished and equipped house for each daughter and also, if possible, to give some dowry lands, a few hill terraces for grain and for olive trees, or some grazing land which can be rented out to shepherds. Ideally, the dowry house and dowry lands should pass from mother to daughter. What is brought to the marriage and contributed to the family estate by a female should be handed on to the females of the family. In practice, dowry houses are bought, rented or built, but occasionally a couple do move out of the wife's dowry house in order that their daughter can move in with her husband.

The pattern of house as dowry on Anaphi is referred to elsewhere in Greece as one which makes a man a sogambros, a man who moves into his wife's household. Such husbands have to bear a slight social stigma, that of the uxorilocal husband who is manager rather than owner of the property and brings nothing of his own to the marriage. On Anaphi the man's property comes to him on his parents' death, so that he is not a sogambros in the usual sense of the term. The islanders told me that several of the political exiles during the 1930s had commented on what seemed to them to be a thorough-going sogambros system on the island. A former

exile on Anaphi whom I met by chance in Athens went so far as to typify the Anaphiot system as a "gynocracy", saying that the women made all the decisions about land use and crops, as well as about other property. I take this to be a misunderstanding of the way in which the nuclear family estate is shared out over time, shares given to daughters at marriage, and to sons on the parents' death. In this way the parents retain land to support themselves, and each household gains and relinquishes property at different points in the domestic cycle.

If the girl is the eldest daughter she is named after her mother's mother, and she is given her mother's dowry house, which was given to the mother by her parents, "because of the name". She is expected to hand it on to her eldest daughter, named after her own mother, for the same reason. The ideal is that women of the same name in alternate generations should succeed to the same house. For example: Maria's daughter, Kalliope, takes Maria's dowry house and gives it to her own eldest daughter Maria. Young Maria names her eldest daughter Kalliope, and she takes the house in her turn "to continue the name". If the eldest daughter does take the mother's dowry house the parents move out and buy or rent a house for themselves, to renovate a storehouse or cottage, or to take over the house of an émigré relative for a nominal rent in return

for its upkeep. As Anaphiots have been migrating permanently over the past one-hundred years, the availability of émigrés' houses is not a new development. If the mother's dowry house is old, small and in need of repair, or if there are many other siblings who make it difficult to find another suitably sized house, the parents remain. They build or buy a better house for the daughter's dowry. The parents' house, whether it is one into which they have moved, or the original dowry house, is left at their death to whichever of the daughters or sons' wives cared best for them in old age. The inheritance of the parents' house also depends on the number of female grandchildren named after the grandmother. If there is only one namesake the house is most likely to be left to her parents for her. If there are no daughters, a son takes his parents' house and it will go to his second daughter, named after *his* mother, "so that the same name will be heard in the house". Houses are also acquired through childless or unmarried siblings, or from godparents, particularly when there is a child of the dead person's name to inherit it.

When a girl marries one of the émigrés, the husband's work in the city outweighs the advantages of a house on the island. The parents may retain the house for another daughter, or they may sell or rent it. Whatever they do, the girl still requires a dowry, and the parents give the

money value of the house to the couple to use for real estate purchase or rent, or they use the money to buy a plot of land in the suburbs of Athens, to be built on from the couple's earnings.

The cost of building or buying a house on Anaphi averages about 30,000 drachmas (c. £350 at the time of fieldwork). It is possible for a seasonal migrant to save such a sum from summer work earnings, at a wage of 200 drachmas per day, over three years. Small one-room houses on the slope of the castle rock above the village, exposed to the winds and reached by rock-cut paths, can be bought cheaply at about 10,000 drachmas. Storehouses and semi-caves in the castle rock are converted, usually for old parents rather than for a young couple. Houses are also bought from families who migrate, or are obtained in exchange for fields and pasturage. Few houses are built as dowry houses (although émigrés build summer cottages near the sea), for the import of materials is costly and unreliable, and the supply of labourers irregular, depending on the rival claims of agricultural work and the competition of higher wages offered for seasonal work in Athens. However, the problem of providing dowry houses is not as acute as it may appear. The availability of émigrés' houses is not a new phenomenon, for islanders have sought work in Athens for almost a century and have been migrating permanently,

as well as seeking seasonal work at wages higher than those offered on the island all during this period. Family size has diminished, even though infant mortality has been reduced, for contraceptive techniques are known and practised and public opinion is against large families. Some women take pills which are claimed "to bring on the period", and one island woman went to Athens for an abortion. The size of a family does, however, depend on the sex of the children born into it, for every man wants a son, and every woman wants a daughter "to carry on the name." The average number of children per family over the past sixty years is four, the mode two. There seems to be a trend towards smaller families (see Figure 15, Demographic Appendix). While there is still a problem of providing dowry houses, and finding alternative houses for parents, there are few families who have the overwhelming burden of dowering four or more daughters.

Marriage without dowry

Together with opportunities for acquiring dowry houses by inheritance from relatives or koumbari and by gift, rent or purchase from migrants, there are also recognized ways out of the responsibility of providing a dowry house.

(1) Husband provides: One very rare way is for the husband to provide the house. This is equivalent to admission by the parents of inability to dower their daughter.

There were three couples on Anaphi living in houses provided by the husband. In two of these cases the women were sisters. Their mother had been widowed when the girls were under ten years old. The elder girl had her mother's dowry lands, the younger had her father's share of his natal family's estate. They thus had some dowry, but were considered lucky to find husbands willing to buy or rent a marital home. The third case concerns a man who inherited both house and lands from his parents. He had served a ten-year prison sentence for what appears to have been mitigated manslaughter. He married the youngest daughter in a family of seven children. She was twenty years younger and had no dowry house or lands.

These cases make clear the interplay of factors in selecting a spouse; the balance of health, wealth, family reputation and age. Dowry is regarded as a moral responsibility, and a dowryless girl unless circumstances are particularly extenuating, reflects on her parents' honour or on public assessment of the status of her husband.

(2) Elopement: The other way of evading responsibility to dower a daughter is to refuse because she is "stolen". Stealing, klepsya, is a form of elopement known from informants and from old songs to have occurred at least fifty years ago, and during the war, the occupation and civil war years. There were seven couples on Anaphi at the time of fieldwork who had been married in this way. The most recent

case occurred in 1958, just before the Bishop of Thira decreed that in future any couple who wanted to marry after a "stealing" would have to pay a 6,000 drachma fine, and that the wedding ceremony would take place in the cemetery church. No cases have occurred on Anaphi since the decree but there is a well-authenticated case of a night wedding in a cemetery church on Thira in the spring of 1967. Details of the recent cases on Anaphi showed that the "stealings" did not necessarily involve men who were not favoured by the girl's parents. Most often the parents had agreed to an engagement but wanted to postpone the wedding until after the man's military service, or until the girl was older and they were able to provide a better dowry. During the war and Occupation years it was almost impossible for parents to amass the necessary furniture, linen and other trousseau goods. In these cases, said informants, the parents told the groom that they could not let their daughter marry with an inadequate dowry for her own sake, and for the sake of their reputation. But, they added, if the girl were to elope she would show she was prepared to put up with a rough start to married life, their reputation would be maintained, and the dowry goods would be given when times got better. Elopement thus provided an acceptable means of delaying the dowry, a reasonable if not credible excuse for withholding it at the time of the marriage.

In one case a "stolen" bride, the eldest daughter and the only daughter still living on the island was given her dowry house after the birth of a daughter. This daughter was by custom named for the maternal grandmother, who said that she wanted to see her namesake take over the house where she herself had first lived as a bride. The dowry was thus given in the context of inheritance for grandchildren rather than as the "stolen" bride's right. The old couple gave the dowry house on the birth of a granddaughter, having obtained a house for themselves by exchanging a plot of their own garden land for the dowry house of a girl who went to live in Athens with an émigré husband. Produce from the garden land was sent to her in Athens.

In another case the couple were given at the start of their marriage the use of a storehouse by a relative of the bride, and later the husband bought his own sister's dowry house when she married and moved from the island.

A further case shows even more clearly the elopement, as well as being a way of flouting parental authority as to the person or the timing of a marriage, was certainly a means of evading expected responsibilities. The fifth of six daughters in a family eloped and went to live in a partly furnished, unready dowry house her parents provided. They had hinted that elopement was the only way out of a situation

in which they could not afford to finish the dowry house, nor to stand the expenses of the wedding festivities for several years. The parents had bought a large dowry house for the eldest daughter, the second inherited a house from an unmarried aunt after whom she had been named, the third was bought a dowry house, but when she left the island to have an illegitimate child the house was given to a fourth daughter. The youngest daughter took the parents' house when, on her marriage, they moved into a storehouse which had cost them 4,000 drachmas (c. £47).

Whether or not the parents hinted at the elopement as a device for speeding a marriage, the act of eloping could only take place with the girl's co-operation. Unlike other parts of Greece where klepsya really was abduction against the girl's wishes, on Anaphi it was planned and carried out with her knowledge and connivance. The favoured time for stealing was the carnival period, Apokreas, before the beginning of Lent, a time of full moon. It is still an Anaphiot expression to comment on a moonlit evening oraia vrathi yia klepsya, "a fine evening for an elopement!" During Apokreas bands of young men wander around the village streets, in costume, often dressed as women. They visit houses where they dance, imitate the idiosyncracies of various islanders, and re-enact comic happenings of the past year. It is a time of licensed jesting and frivolity

when shouts, songs, the sound of running feet, and oddities of behaviour are common and expected. It was comparatively easy for a band of young men to pass a house where a girl was waiting, masked and veiled, to slip out and join them. She would not attract any notice as they hurried along, as others would assume she was a man dressed up. She was escorted through the village by her sweetheart and his friends to the house of a sympathetic relative, possibly even to his own house, where she was chaperoned until the wedding day, the next Sunday. Weddings are not solemnized in the Greek Orthodox Church during Lent, so that most of the accounts of elopements describe the last week of Apokreas, when the carnival festivities are at their height. The girl's family and relatives, even if sympathetic, do not attend the wedding. The priest cannot refuse to marry the couple.

The First Stage of Marriage; Engagement

The factors which influence the choice of spouse are implicit ones, standards to which appeal can be made. The actors themselves describe choices in terms of character, personality, beauty, humour, romantic love. Young people can only meet in public settings; a girl is not allowed to be in the company of an unrelated man without a chaperone, and she would not herself try to make a secret assignation, not necessarily from fear of seduction, but because the

young man might think badly of her and wonder if she had met other men secretly. It is thus only at church, at village and private celebrations and on the way to and from the fields, that young people can see each other. They can send comments and messages to each other through friends and later through sympathetic relatives. Such manoeuvres soon reach their parents' attention. They may deliberately put obstacles and difficulties in the way to test the young couple's determination, but once they are convinced that the matter is serious the girl's parents will allow the boy to call on her, and eventually the boy's father or his godfather will call to discuss things. The couple are then betrothed, a ceremony which takes place at the girl's home, but is regarded as the first stage of the wedding ceremony.

The engagement ceremony (aravona) consists of a formal assertion on the part of both the boy and the girl that they wish to marry each other, that they are becoming engaged voluntarily, and that there is no "understanding" with anyone else.

An Engagement: At the engagement ceremony I saw on Easter Sunday 1967, the boy's godfather blessed the gold rings which the boy, still on his military service, had brought home with him. I was told that it was usual for the boy's father to do this, but there was some bad feeling

between the girl's father and the boy's father - on an entirely separate issue, so it was said, and the boy's godfather was asked to perform the ceremony. Another informant said that the godfather had demanded to perform the ceremony as of right.

The rings were blessed in front of the household ikons, which had been brought down from their shelf and set up on a table in the middle of the room in front of all the guests. The boy put one ring on to the girl's left hand, and she then took the other ring and put it on to his ring finger. They each knelt in front of the god-father and kissed his hand, and the girl went over to her prospective parents-in-law to kiss their hands with a bobbing curtsey. At the same time the boy went over to the girl's parents to kiss their hands. General embracings and good wishes, then tears followed; the girl's father then summoned the guests to a celebratory meal. There were toasts to the couple, individually and together throughout the meal, but when it was finished, the girl began the singing by chanting one of the verses of a traditional wedding song: Ena tragouthi thel' na po, epano sto trapezi, na zisoun nifi ke gambros koumbares ke koumbari" - "There is a song I wish to sing, here upon the table, To wish long life to bride and groom, Koumbares and koumbari." Other verses of the song were taken up by various guests. After

the engagement party the couple began to refer to each other's parents as <u>petheros</u> and <u>pethera</u>, father-in-law and mother-in-law. The boy's leave was up and he went away on the next boat. The wedding took place sixteen months later, in August 1968.

An engagement is the first stage of a marriage; the couple begin to learn their new roles with respect to each other and their families. They are no longer chaperoned, and although it is possible for sexual intercourse to take place I was told that a girl would be unlikely to allow this, partly from fear of pregnancy, partly to maintain her fiancé's "respect". It is the custom still on Anaphi that the groom's mother be shown the sheets after the wedding night. There were tales of a groom who stained the sheets himself by cutting his thumb, and of doctors in Athens who perform re-virginizing operations, so it is not unlikely that many engaged couples do sleep together, but there is no evidence that this happened on Anaphi where public observation of comings and goings would make such a situation difficult. If an engagement is broken off it is always the girl's reputation which suffers, and it is hard for her to contract an alliance with a boy of equally good status as the first.

<u>De Facto Unions</u>

The sequence of courtship, engagement and church wedding is followed by almost all Anaphiot couples. However there

were two couples on the island at the time of fieldwork who were living together in common law unions.

One couple lived in the northern part of the island, on lands which the man, Agapios Damigos, inherited and had added to by buying his émigré siblings' shares from them. He first married a woman sixteen years older than himself when he was about twenty years old. The age difference between them was enough in itself to cast doubt on their reputations and to prejudice judgement of the children of the marriage. Three children were born. When the wife died, aged 78, Agapios brought to live with him a woman nineteen years younger than himself, by whom he already had three children, born while his legal wife was in her sixties, when the younger woman was in her late twenties. This woman received a monthly sum of money from the state insurance as an unsupported female. Her parents were dead and her brother had been killed on military service when she was fourteen. Her "pension" was tenable so long as she remained unmarried. The villagers said that Agapios whose nickname was orangoutangos did not want to legalize the union because of losing her assured income.

The details of his first marriage are obscure, but it appears such an anomalous case that it is unlikely any island family would have allied themselves with Agapios, particularly as the first wife's children failed to restore

honour to the family. The son left his wife after she cuckolded him; the eldest daughter became mentally deranged. The second daughter, who married a shepherd, had a daughter who was found dead at the foot of a mountain while she was out with her father's flocks. No one was sure whether it was accident, suicide or murder. It seems likely that Agapios' common-law wife had poor chances of marrying without a dowry. Any islander who married her would not have acquired the network of kin and koumbari which he would gain by marrying a girl with parents and siblings. With no close kin to bring her up and chaperone her and with little or no property except for her pension, she would score low as a prospective bride. Neither party had much to lose in terms of honour by contracting a de facto union. Their illegitimate children and the children of Agapios' eldest son's adulterous wife were entered in the register as the children of the legal marriage. I assume this was a move to make sure these children were "officially" legitimate, despite the fact that some of them were born when the man's legal wife was in her sixties, and one was born two years after her death. The true state of affairs would not be relayed through official channels. I was not able to find out whether the village secretary had been persuaded by Agapios to make the entries in this way.

The second common-law marriage involves a thrice-

married widow of seventy-four and a sixty-two year old bachelor. They each lived in the village where the widow had a large house and the bachelor had a small cottage, in which he lived when her married sister and children came to spend the summer on the island. The widow ran a small café patronised by shepherd boys, youths and unmarried men. The villagers made jokes about her much-married status and the fact that her café clientele were all "available" men. While there is no evidence at all that she was, or ever had been, sexually available herself, the fact that she had remarried as many times as possible, and now cooked and kept house for this elderly bachelor fisherman, gave her a sullied reputation. The man helped in the café and did odd jobs for fishermen and boatmen down at the harbour. His arm had been blown off by a dynamite charge, used for stunning fish, and besides this physical defect, he was associated with a scandal involving his émigré brother who had an illegitimate daughter. In this case, too, neither party had much reputation to lose by living together.

The Second State of Marriage: The Wedding

The wedding ceremony itself (described in Chapter Eight) marks the setting up of a new household unit. The festivities are held in the dowry house, and married life begins in earnest after the final celebration on the day after the wedding. A few couples recently have gone on

brief holidays to Athens, described as visits to émigré relatives unable to attend the wedding, and to sound out seasonal work possibilities. A Greek translation of the word "honeymoon" was used to describe these journeys to me, but they are not a usual follow-up to weddings on Anaphi.

The new household which is created at marriage is an independent unit, and yet at the same time meshed into the existing network of each partner. It is possible for a couple to raise their status in economic terms and in terms of public opinion as to their honour. However, the reputation and status of their respective natal families will always provide a basis for comparison of the new household's success, and also a means of justifying adverse evaluations and interpretations. The choice of spouse is affected by the factors of health, family reputation, age and wealth which depend, as I have shown, on the situation of the individual's natal family. Sickly offspring damage a family's reputation; a poor family cannot afford to dower a daughter until she is older than the expected age for marriage; a family scandal will discourage reputable suitors or prospective brides, despite the right age and wealth criteria.

The individual life cycle (of birth, baptism, engagement, marriage, parenthood, <u>koumbari</u> - hood, children's marriages,

grandparent and death), is thus part of the household cycle, itself part of a larger cycle made up of the cycles of grandparents, parents and siblings. The domestic cycle of a family is affected by the cycles of the spouses' natal families. At his father's death a man inherits the fields which are his natal family estate; the quantity and quality of his inheritance depend on his parents' efforts. Just so, the transfer of house and dowry lands to a daughter is an indication of the ability of her parents to build, buy or otherwise acquire such property.

Each household cycle must be understood as an aspect of the three generation cycle of naming and property transmission as well as being seen as a separate unit.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DOMESTIC CYCLE, NAMING AND INHERITANCE

The Beginning of the Domestic Cycle

The couple's koumbaros, their wedding sponsor who put the wedding garlands on them during the ceremony, is expected to help them establish themselves in the first months of marriage. He helps in practical ways, using any influence he has with administrative officials, influential islanders, members of the émigré community and so on. The newly-weds must in turn try to comply with any requests he makes for help in farming and other jobs. The groom works as a wage-labourer on the island and goes to work in Athens during the summer months. The bride is hired for the grain and olive harvest and receives payment in cash or kind; at this stage of the domestic cycle there is no censure on a man if his wife works "on strangers' lands". The groom may become a half-shares tenant for an islander with no sons, for a widow or for an émigré. He tries to establish a fairly permanent relationship with an employer who will give him preference in wage-labouring jobs. As a workman he has the opportunity to make an employer beholden to him by offering his labour at a time such as harvest when it is greatly in demand. The relationship builds up so that although the workman is paid, his labour is given "as a favour", for he arranges working days

to suit his employer's plans, and can only offer unallocated days to any other potential employer. For this second employer the groom works the days which suit himself, so the relationship is in theory strictly contractual, with no idea of obligation on either side. The skill is to persuade an employer that he is being favoured so that he will feel bound to select the obliging workman later on when jobs are few.

As the head of an independent household the groom's relationship with his father is now one of equality. Although the father can exert moral pressures on his son, he cannot expect him to work without reciprocation or payment. The groom will thus continue to help his father with farm work but no longer as an unpaid subordinate. He fulfills his obligations to his natal family by placing their claims for labour high on his list, but the relationship is like that of the employer and workman with strong ties of mutual obligation. Co-operation with married brothers and sisters, with his wife's parents and her married siblings, and with _koumbari_ can also be described in terms of a relationship of mutual advantage between independent household heads. The moral content of the relationship is expressed in the fact that each party to it acknowledges obligation to the other and recognizes claims to reciprocal services.

The importance of koumbaros relationships

Additional ties of mutual aid are formed when the couple have children and select godparents for them. The choice of these koumbari is important for the parents as well as for the child's future. The child's godparent is called on Anaphi, and as far as I know nowhere else, synteknos (male) or synteknissa (female), literally "together-child", a word which stresses the link of koumbari through the child which is the physical offspring of the one, and the spiritual child of the other. This relationship is more significant and boligatory than that with the wedding koumbaros. The godparent makes the child a Christian and by giving it a name establishes it in the Anaphiot community as a social being. He has a duty to follow the growth and needs of the godchild, providing gifts of clothing, helping in education and in finding a job, making sure that the child is well looked after in the family, and that on marriage he or she sets up a fine new household. In return for this the parents owe their practical help to him and his family. As koumbari the couple and the godparental couple have reciprocal claims on each other's help and preferences.

Because of the importance of the godparental relationship, parents select an influential godparent for at least one of their children. The godparent may be an islander with position and good contacts, like the proedros, the

village secretary, one of the council, the schoolmaster or the post-office clerk, or a member of the émigré community. Families generally have one such tie with an important godparent through the man himself or through his wife or one of his children. A tie through other members of an important man's family is occasioned by the rule that a godparent can only baptize babies of the same sex, for co-godchildren of the same godparent cannot marry. Other godparents are chosen from among childless or unmarried relatives, neighbours, wedding _koumbari_, visiting meat-merchants, fishermen, and, in one case a taxi-driver from Thira, who was asked to be the godfather of the baby whose pregnant mother he had rushed to the hospital after her journey by caique to Thira from Anaphi.

The choice of childless or unmarried godparents is made with an eye to inheriting their property in return for caring for them in their old age, and in return for responsibilities connected with the funeral and memorial services. Three island children, two boys and one girl, were in fact adopted by childless godparents in Athens, and their parents mentioned the need for the childless to have someone to care for them, carry out the funeral and memorial ceremonies and have an heir, balanced by the need for a child to have a good start in life, and a good dowry or inheritance.

Middle and later stages in the Domestic Cycle

As the years go by the new household becomes well established in the island community. The man has a network of men with whom he has reciprocal work relationships of mutual advantage, good contacts in Athens for seasonal work, and the wife no longer works for wages outside this network but only for cash or kind, chatirikos, "as a matter of grace", that is, as a favour. When the man's parents die he receives his share of the family estate. These additional lands help to meet the increasing needs of the growing family and may help to offset the losses of lands and cash when daughters marry. The way in which the natal family estate is to be divided between sons is usually known in advance, in a relatively ad hoc and informal way, and often anticipated when parents give sons their future lands to work as half-shares tenants. However, should the parents unexpectedly die intestate the lands are divided into equal shares by the youngest son, and the sons take their shares by choice, starting with the eldest (cf. Friedl's account of division of property and apportionment by lot, 1962: p.60 ff.)

Naming and Inheritance

The relation between the naming pattern for women and the inheritance of dowry houses is paralleled by the

relation between the naming pattern for men and the inheritance of land. The eldest son is named after his father's father, and should take a share of the land which his namesake once farmed. The son names his first son for his father so that inheritance passes through a line of men whose names are alternately the same.* For example, Manolis, son of Antonis, leaves a share of his lands to his eldest son Antonis, the young Antonis in turn passes his land to his eldest son, Manolis, and to his other sons part at least of Manolis's share, being lands once held by grandfather Manolis. Clearly if a man divides the land he received from his father among his own sons the shares will get smaller and smaller over the generations. So each man tries to obtain more land through purchase and half-shares tenancies, while retaining the ideal that it should be the eldest son who takes the patrimonial land. Younger sons may get bought land, and in some cases sons inherit a share of the mother's dowry fields, particularly when there are no daughters, or when daughters leave the island and take their share of the estate in cash. The second son

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*Tavuchis (1969) compares naming patterns among first and second generation Greek-Americans. First generation parents chose names "with a distinct patrilineal bias" (p.19), whereas second generation parents "tended to name children after paternal and maternal kin" (p.19). He does not refer to rights to property through name nor to religious obligations. My thanks to Peter Loizos who recently drew my attention to this reference.

in a family is named after the mother's father, and thus if he does take a share of his mother's dowry fields he can be justified in doing so by virtue of having a name from her family. Excessive fragmentation can thus be prevented by inheritance of other types of land, and in addition pressure on land is lessened through migration. Data from the village register shows (see Figure 16, Demographic Appendix) that for all families for which both the number of children remaining on the island and the number migrating were known, half the mean number of children per family migrated. (Mean number of children per family 4.9; mean number of émigré children per family 2.8.) The figures for each sex (mean number of male children per family migrating 1.5; mean number of female children per family migrating 1.3) imply that the tendency to migrate affects each sex equally. If it is the case that migration is related to decisions about likely prospects with regard to the division of the family estate on Anaphi, it is likely also that both sexes would decide to migrate rather than fragment land-holdings or compete for island dowry houses. I do not want to push too strongly the interpretation that children surplus to the availability of land and houses migrate, but I think it is important to stress that migration is one of the most important factors in the workability

of the Anaphiot system of dowry and inheritance.

A man who remains on Anaphi cannot take more than his fair share of the natal family estate. However, if there are émigré brothers they may ask him to take over their lands as a half-shares tenant, or offer them to him for purchase, or they may choose to let the lands as pasturage to shepherds for cheese-rent.

Last stages in the Domestic Cycle

When the head of the family receives his inheritance the family estate is at its peak. Soon his daughters will be of marriageable age and their shares will be dispersed as dowry. The head of the family is likely to be in his early fifties when his eldest daughter marries. By this time he has a well-established network of ties of mutual obligation, he is still in the prime of his working life but he is expected to be working more for himself than for others and in many cases this is so. He begins to employ workmen himself when his sons go off to do military service in their twenties; once they return they regard themselves as having interests and creating contacts of their own, they begin to be treated as adults, as potential family heads. Until he marries, however, a son is a member of his natal family, and is expected to work for the family unit. In a few exceptional cases unmarried men move away from their natal family household and set up house in renovated store-

houses, or semi-caves. It is felt that they owe some help still to their parents, but that they can keep a major portion of their own earnings. A man with a house of his own but with few other necessary qualifications as a spouse is likely to make a match with a younger daughter or a girl in a poor family with little dowry. In most cases a son continues to work for his parents for several years after his return from military service, while making the moves for setting up his own household; courting a girl, establishing work contacts, choosing a _koumbaros_ etc. While he is in a technically subordinate role in his natal family, a son shows respect and deference to his father and does not smoke, drink or joke with his own friends if his father is in the same room.

This distance is shown most clearly in the way father and son each patronize a different _cafeneion_, coffee-house or café. The father attends one of the two major cafés run by members of the village council. The son joins other youths and adult unmarried males in a small café run by an old widow. When the son marries, he enters the same social context as his father and he wants, and needs, to belong to the clientele of the major cafés. The potential friction of the situation is reduced as the father lessens his visits to the café, or takes care to go in when he knows his son will not be there, as he usually is in the evenings sounding out

prospects for wage labouring jobs, and establishing other kinds of tie. When the son is an established family head in the prime of life, he and his father can sit in the same café without embarrassment. It is while he is at the beginning of the domestic cycle and his father still a vigorous man that the tensions are strong. The oldest men patronize a fourth café, where the proprietor reads to them from the newspapers and preserves a quiet atmosphere.

As I have indicated, a man may still be active and influential when his children marry and set up households of their own. By this time public opinion will have crystallized into an evaluation of his achievements and an assessment of his own household and the members of his family in terms of honour. He is judged on how near he has come to the ideal of economic self-sufficiency, on how well his sons married, on how well his daughters were dowered, on what tasks his wife does and for whom, and on the extent of his network of employers, workmen, patrons, clients and koumbari.

As he grows older he spends most of his time in supervising his labourers, including married and unmarried sons and his sons-in-law, in sitting in the cafés where he is approached for jobs, and for favours such as using his contacts or acting as godparent. The couple usually spend their old age in and around the village, visiting only

their nearer lands. When they become unable to look after themselves properly their daughters and daughters-in-law bring meals to them, do some housework and washing for them, and nurse them when they are ill. Their children are usually conscientious in looking after them and take turns to do so, particularly as extra care or lack of it is recognized in the division of the estate. Émigré children who are unable to help actively may send money and medicines but often they are content to take smaller shares of the estate, or to receive grazing land rather than fields in acknowledgment of their island siblings' part in caring for the parents.

The estate is divided when the husband dies but if his wife survives him a share is left for her upkeep. When both parents are dead the children take it in turns to provide the appropriate items for the funeral and memorial services which are held for the souls of the dead. If one child takes on the whole responsibility, as may happen if other siblings have left the island, he or she takes an extra share of the estate, yia tin psiki, "for the soul". When the set of ceremonies is completed three years after the death, the bones are exhumed from the cemetery and reinterred in a family chapel or in an ossuary, osteophylakeion, near the fields which are regarded as the "family" fields, those which have passed

from father to son, (see Chapter Eight).

Relationships within the Family

Relationships between members of a nuclear family household depend on how they perform the tasks and behave in the way expected of them in both family and public contexts. These expectations are based on sex, chronological age, generational position, and stage in the domestic cycle.

Each nuclear family regards itself as a unit with its own specific interests. Co-operation with other individuals and families may help to achieve these aims, but helpfulness and altruism never dominate self-interest. As other families are thought to hold similar aims they are seen, however friendly the relationships between households may be, as possible threats. One family's success in a large harvest, a profitable transaction with the meat-merchants, a child's high marks in examinations, acceptance by an influential person of a request to stand as koumbaros, necessarily reflects on other families not so successful. The family members can only be really sure of each other for they have the same common goal. They conceal from others any piece of information, however trivial, important or insignificant, in case capital can be made out of it. Allied to this fear, perhaps symbolic of it, is reluctance to excite admiration or envy in others, for these emotions are believed to lead to blight, illness, misfortune or disaster brought on through

the power of the Eye, _to mati_. Extracting information out of others and withholding one's own is a social art and game on Anaphi, as in other parts of Greece, and is often enjoyed as such by parties to a conversation and their listeners. To give information voluntarily is to shame an inquirer for his ignorance, and shows him up for having to depend on someone else for information; while betraying information involuntarily is to reveal one's own inadequacy. Members of a family also score points off each other by relating unexpected news, but they do pool their information and the gossip they have learnt, in order to preserve a united front.

The men of the family tend to be the visible actors in island affairs. The husband and father represents his family to other island families and to the outside world. His relationship with his own parents and married siblings is one of equality between independent households. To retain his self-respect he must regard himself as subordinate to no one. His sphere of activities centres on farming, shepherding or fishing, and on wage-labouring jobs. He tries to maintain and to increase the family stock of honour. His position among his peers, his own self-respect and the respect accorded to him by others is partly determined by his own actions, but depends also on the behaviour and reputation of other family members,

particularly the female members. He must make sure that no breath of gossip or scandal touches them, and they in turn can exert pressure on him by showing up any lack of control over them through their disobedience, sullenness, tears or shouts of rage, which can be observed or overheard by neighbours.

The relationship of husband and wife is expected to be a complementary partnership of activities. In theory the husband is head of the household and makes all the final decisions. In practice, women are often involved in domestic and work decisions, and it appears that a wife has a large part in saying what is to be done with her dowry lands or with her house. A woman's sphere of activity is centred on the home and domestic tasks, although she helps with farming and shepherding. At the beginning of the domestic cycle she does harvesting and olive-picking jobs for payment in cash or kind but later on she should not have to work for strangers, only for kin and _koumbari_ in reciprocation for their help on family lands. A husband is judged by how much work his wife does for others. Her influence operates not only through discussion and argument, but also through the way domestic matters are handled. A wife exerts considerable domestic blackmail through how and what she cooks, through her public behaviour and in denying or granting her husband's rights of sexual access.

She has her own network of female contacts, kinswomen, _koumbares_ and neighbours who can use their influence with their husbands on her husband's behalf.

To her own parents and parents-in-law she is expected to remain respectful and co-operative, although it is clear that she is now an adult married woman with the power and right to withhold co-operation and help if she feels it is not adequately reciprocated, or if her siblings or her husband's siblings are not doing their fair share for their parents. With her married siblings and affines she is on terms of equality and mutual benefit.

In her role as mother she has a close and intensive relationship with her young children, although as sons grow up they come into a closer relationship with their father than daughters do. Babies and young children are pampered and indulged. Aggressiveness is encouraged in boys, while girls are taught to sit modestly and to restrain precocious chatter from an early age. Children are teased to the point of tears and hysteria, bribed with promises of sweets and treats and punished with slaps and threats of withdrawal of love. This style of upbringing appears to develop a self-contained and self-sufficient attitude with a distrust of others' motives.

While the father plays and indulges his children when they are small he becomes more withdrawn and authoritarian

as they grow older. Sons come into greater contact with their father when they leave school at the age of eleven and help more with shepherding and farming jobs. They take their orders from him, and are expected to show initiative and responsibility without threatening his authority. Their contact with the mother is restricted to meal times, for they begin to spend their evenings in the widow's café with other youths and unmarried men.

The daughter spends most of the day with her mother after she leaves school. She may go out on her own to graze flocks or get in stores from outhouses near the family fields, but since the mysterious death of a shepherd girl, families are more than usually cautious about sending their daughters long distances alone. Girls learn cooking and household skills from an early age, and begin to sew, crochet and embroider trousseau goods when they become teenagers. A girl helps her mother during the day and in the evenings pays visits to neighbours' or kinswomen's houses, or receives visitors at home. She may go round to the house of a friend of her own age, where several girls will meet and gossip. She sees her father and brothers at meal times and when the family go out to their own fields for intensive work. A girl is not allowed to be in the company of an unrelated man without a chaperone, her mother or a female relative, or male members of her family. The

Greek Orthodox Church forbids marriage between those related to the degree of a second cousin and thus a male cousin is also considered a suitable chaperone, as any insult to or gossip about the girl reflects on his own honour.

As long as they remain members of the natal family, sons and daughters are expected to act with respect and obedience to their parents. As a son grows up there are tensions because he begins to act as a potential family head and thus as his father's equal. A daughter never comes into such a structural conflict with her father and her relationship with her brother gradually changes from one of equality as children to one in which she is subordinate until she marries. The relationship between brothers is one of equality modified by their relative ages. Married brothers have no stronger tie to each other than to their married sisters. They may well co-operate in farming work as their shares of the family estate may be in the same area of the island, but the fraternal tie never dominates their obligations within their marital families. The same is true for sisters; once they are married, co-operation and reciprocal help in domestic tasks depends as much on neighbourhood and personal liking as on the kinship tie.

The system of Naming

Children have rights to a share of the family estate by virtue of the names they are given. The first son is

named for the father's father, the first daughter for the mother's mother. Because of the name, the son has the right to inherit as his share of the family estate the land given to his father by his namesake, the grandfather. The daughter has the right to be given as dowry house the house given to the mother by her mother, after whom the girl is named. In practice sons may take other parts of the family estate, being better farming land, and daughters may be given specially built dowry houses, or purchased houses which are bigger and in better repair than the mother's dowry house. The house which has been built, or bought, will go eventually to the girl's eldest daughter, named after the mother; and a man's share of his family estate will be inherited by his son, named after the man's father; so that "the same name will be heard". The second son in a family is named for the mother's father, and it is thought appropriate that his share of the family estate should be the mother's dowry lands if there is no daughter for them to be given to. The second daughter is named for the father's mother and is more likely to get a bought dowry house than one which has come down to her through female links. Subsequent children may be named after childless or unmarried relatives or godparents, or after collaterals. A third son is named after the father's brother (named for _his_ mother's father) and the fourth after the mother's

brother; third daughters are named for the mother's sister, and fourth daughters for the father's sister.

Children's names bring into the family unit the names of the natal families of husband and wife. The grandchildren's names are said to "resurrect" their grandparents, to ensure their immortality. The old people say that once their name has "come out", that is, once a child is born to carry on the names, they are assured of being remembered after their death.

Exceptions do occur in this pattern of naming when the husband has the same name as the wife's father, or when the wife has the name of the husband's mother. If the naming pattern were followed, a second son or daughter would have the same name as a parent, as well as a grandparent. The islanders say that it "doesn't do", _then kani,_ for members of proximate generations in the same family to have the same name. Often each spouse may have parents of the same name (for example, when both husband's mother and wife's mother is named Maria), so that the name can only be used for one child, and a second child of the same sex has to be given another name. Sometimes, if one of the spouses is an only child, names from this family are used first to prevent them "being lost". This happens when the other spouse has other married siblings with children, so that names from that family have already "come out", _echoun_

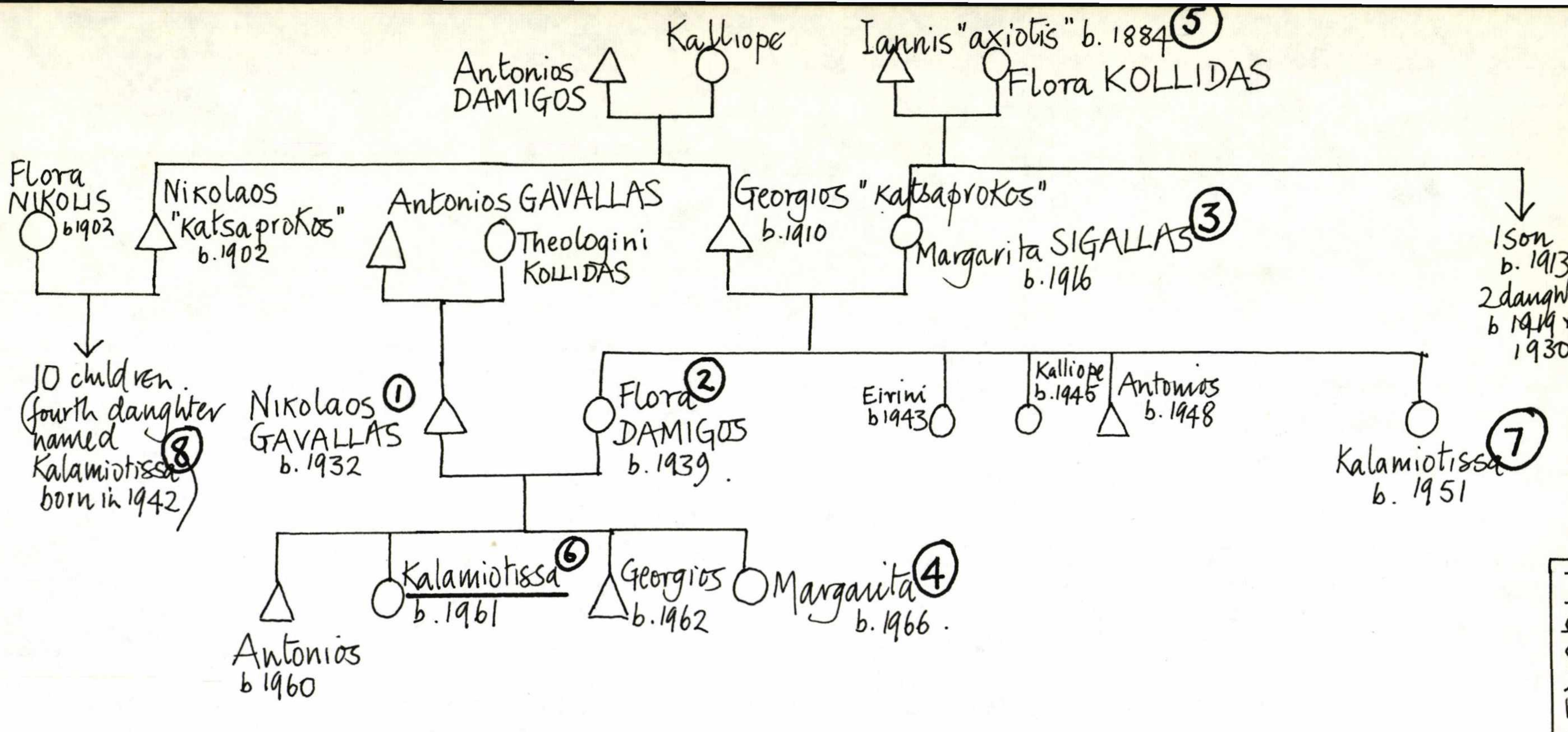

FIGURE SEVEN

Nikolaos (1) and Flora (2) Gavalla live in the dowry house given to Flora by her mother Margarita (3). This house will go to Flora's second daughter, Margarita (4), "because of the name". Flora says that she expects to get some fields - delayed dowry lands - from her mother (3) when her mother's father, Iannis Sigallas (5), dies. Flora's first daughter (6) was born when her father (1) was ill. Flora made a vow to the Panayia Kalamiotissa (the All-Holy Virgin of the Reeds) to name the child after her if Nikolaos recovered, which he did. The name occurs elsewhere in Flora's family, so that the baby Kalamiotissa has two namesakes (7) and (8).

f.p 213

vyi. Another exception to the strict pattern of naming is when the mother vows the unborn child to the Virgin or one of the saints. She may do this during a difficult labour, or if there is serious illness in the family. For example, when her husband had appendicitis a woman vowed her child to the Virgin "so that he would get well", na gini kala. The child, the first daughter, was named Kalamiotissa, the title given to the Virgin on the island after the ikon at the Monastery, - said to have been found on a reed, kalami. The woman's mother's name was given to the second daughter. This daughter will inherit the grandmother's dowry house instead of the eldest daughter "because of the name" (see Figure 7, facing). It seems, then, that it is the name which is the critical factor in inheritance rather than birth order, although the two are usually combined.

Nicknames

The small pool of names on the island means that many people have the same first name, and several (the eldest sons of a group of brothers) have the same first name and surname. The official usage is for a man to be described by his first name, his father's first name in the genitive case, and the family surname, (e.g. Manolis Iannou Sigallas). At marriage a woman substitutes the husband's first name in the genitive case and his surname for her father's, (e.g. Kalliope Iannou Sigallas becomes Kalliope Markou Nikolis).

Surnames are little used in everyday conversation. People are defined by their job or special skill, (Iannis the plasterer; Nikos the post-office clerk; Evangelya the midwife); or by a nickname, paratsoukli. Some nicknames are used for address as well as for reference, others are considered insulting by the recipient and are used to refer to him but never to his face, unless to provoke a quarrel.

Nicknames differentiate first cousins, the eldest sons of a group of brothers, all named after their father's father. Each man can be described by his own and his father's name, (Manolis son of Iannis, Manolis son of Antonis, etc.), but there may be other identical father-son combinations in collateral branches. Various first cousins on Anaphi were differentiated as: Iakovos the dark, and Iakovos the fair; Matthaios the deaf, and Matthaios the "cat"; or they were differentiated by their father's nick-names: Nikos, son of the "cat", as distinct from Nikos son of the blacksmith.

Some nicknames show the effect of newspapers and radio broadcasts. A short dark workman was known as "Karamanlis", a former prime-minister popularly called "the Turk"; a man with a hooked nose was nicknamed "Nasser"; and an attractive and fashion-conscious girl was referred to as "Liz Taylor".

There are a few nicknames which are explicitly insulting. A man who lived outside the village at Drepanas in the northern part of the island was known as orangoutangos, orang-utan, but in front of any of his relatives he was called by the part of the island where he lived, Drepanyotis. The father of ten children was called katsaprokos, an awl, as a reference to his sexual performance; another sexually active man was nicknamed kremithis, onions, i.e., testicles; and a man twenty years older than his wife was called myalakas, a combination of "soft brain" and "masturbator".

Nicknames of this type are clearly insulting, and reflect adverse public opinion about behaviour and character. Whether they derive from occupation, a notable achievement, a humorous or shameful incident, a physical characteristic or defect, nicknames differentiate and individualize members of the Anaphiot community, and carry an implicit evaluation. Each family household tries to build up a reputation for honour, not only through its own achievements, but through assessing the achievements of others and trying to find ways of decrying them. Another family's relative failure implies the relative success of one's own.

Often nicknames are transmitted over the generations. A group of five brothers are referred to as Birbilithes

after their father, nicknamed Birbilis. Each man is known by his first name and the nickname in place of the normal patronymic: Georgios Birbilis, Manolis Birbilis, Nikos Birbilis, etc. Their mother is known as "Birbilissa", but none of the daughters or sons' wives are as yet called by this form of name. In other island families the mother's nickname, or a feminine version of the father's nickname, became attached to daughters. One woman is known as Margarita tis spanouthias, Margarita, daughter of the bald woman, because her mother used to be known by her husband's nickname, "the bald". In another family all the sons and daughters are called tsounas after their father, who received this nickname when a partridge ran into a shed in his fields, and he caught it crying "However much you struggle (tsounas) I shall put you in the frying pan."

Not only humorous incidents are recalled in nicknames, some are embarrassing or disgraceful, and some recall exceptional deeds. The proedros was called Michaelis tou chiliadatos, Michaelis son of the gold bringer, because his grandfather was said to have brought English gold sovereigns to the island. A plaque on the main street commemorates the grandfather by this nickname. The mayor's wife came of a family known as the crows, kourounes, because of their swarthy complexions. She used the expression "another old crow had died" when she heard of the death of

a relative, but the name was never used by others in talking to her or referring to her family in her presence.

Relations outside the Family

An individual reckons his kin bilaterally, to the degree of second, sometimes third, cousin. Within this circle of kin it is not theoretically permitted to marry. Second and third cousins may get church dispensation to marry, and several couples on Anaphi had done so; there are no cases of first cousin marriage, and it is said such a union is "too close and won't do", poli konda einai ke then kani. The circle of kin is thus a theoretically exogamous group, while in practice more distant kin on the periphery of the circle merge in with "strangers", non-related islanders.

With marriage an individual becomes the gambros or nifi, groom or bride, of the spouse's kin, and is referred to and addressed as such by them. By sharing in the spouse's kinship relationships an individual adds affinal relationships to already existing kinship ties, and criteria of self-interest determine which ones are kept going. The wives of brothers call each other sinifathes, literally co-brides or co-sisters-in-law; the husbands of sisters call each other basanakithes, co-brothers-in-law. Relationships thus extend outwards to spouse's affines.

As honour is thought to be heritable, children are

affected by public opinion about their parents' honour, and the reputation of the parents' own natal families. Kinsmen outside the nuclear family are involved in each other's reputations. They stress a relationship, even if distant, if it brings reflected glory, and shun those whose dishonour may attach to them.

The moral obligations of kinship consist of the right to ask for help and co-operation, and the obligation to give it on the understanding of long-term reciprocity. There is also the duty to adopt the behaviour expected of the kinship role in question, depending on sex, age and generational position. These rights and duties are most effective in the closest circle of kin - members of the nuclear family, parents' siblings and their children - and have a greater degree of choice at a wider range. The tie of kinship is likely to be stressed if distant relatives are neighbours or have neighbouring fields.

Relationships with _koumbari_ show a similar recognition of moral rights and duties combined with calculation of self-interest. _Koumbari_ are spiritual kin; the relationship is different from kinship in that most _koumbari_ are chosen by the individual concerned in the relationship. The moral component is thus more explicit and hence more manipulable than in ordinary kinship ties.

An Anaphiot household has several _koumbaros_ relation-

ships: one is with the wedding sponsor, others with children's godparents, and with the spouse's own godparents (<u>nonni</u>) if they are still alive. There are also <u>koumbaros</u> relationships in which husband, wife or their children have acted as wedding sponsor or godparent to other households.

* * *

Evaluations of social and economic status are made in terms of an ideal of economic self-sufficiency. I have tried to show the close and complex interrelation between such evaluations and the near-realisation of this ideal. These evaluations take account of age and stage in the domestic cycle. Each household's cycle is part of a larger cycle made up of the domestic cycles of the spouses' own natal families, their parents' and grandparents' households. The quantity and quality of dowry and inheritance are an indication of parents' efforts and resources. There is also a clear connection between the distribution of the family estate over time (as dowries for daughters at marriage, and as inheritance for sons after the father's death) and the obligations to the souls of the dead parents. The "mystical" reciprocation of these rights and duties is further emphasised by the ideas about rights to property and about succession which are involved in the pattern of naming. Cases in which children are named for childless or unmarried relatives

or *koumbari* with the expectation of inheritance in return for care in old age, and responsibility for the funeral and memorial ceremonies, show the connection even more clearly.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RITUAL RELATIONSHIPS, PROPERTY, AND THE FATE OF THE SOUL

The relationships of wedding sponsorship and god-parenthood which are established in a religious context provide an important basis for co-operation between nuclear families without infringing the ideal independence and autonomy of each nuclear family household.

Wedding sponsorship

The wedding sponsor and spouse are referred to and addressed by the terms koumbaros and koumbara and they call the married couple by these terms. The chief wedding sponsor is usually male for his duties include being "master of ceremonies" at the wedding festivities. If the chief wedding sponsor is a woman, her husband or some other man with the appropriate social skills acts as master of ceremonies. The distinctive function of wedding sponsorship is at the marriage ceremony in church when the sponsor exchanges three times the garlands which the bride and groom wear, symbolizing the sharing of the joy and self-discipline involved in marriage. ("The bride and groom wear garlands like martyrs", explained one informant. See also Ware 1963, p. 301).

After the festivities the garlands are put in a glass-fronted frame and hung near the household ikons beside the

couple's marriage bed. By exchanging the garlands during the ceremony the _koumbaros_ involves himself not only in the wedding as a particular event but in the marriage through time. He should "keep the couple's feet on the right way" by giving them advice and practical help. The spouse of the wedding sponsor is equally involved in these duties. There may be up to six additional _koumbari_, male and female, present in the church and at the festivities, and they help to organize the celebrations before and after the wedding, serve sweets and drinks to the guests and make sure that everyone who wants to join in the dancing gets a chance to do so. The groom's _koumbari_ and the bride's _koumbares_ help each of them to dress for the wedding ceremony. These additional _koumbari_ are most often friends and contemporaries of the couple, while the chief _koumbaros_ or _koumbara_ is usually an older married and established member of the community, who has the experience and influence necessary for the later "consultative" role. However, in some cases, the subsequent tie is strongest between the couple and one of their additional _koumbari_. Ideally the couple are involved in ling-long mutual obligations and reciprocal duties with their wedding sponsor, together with his or her spouse and family. The _koumbaros_ should help to establish the couple by assisting them in farming jobs, by putting wage-labouring jobs in the way of

coupl[illegible] earliest days. [illegible] the [illegible]
the ceremony [illegible] kongmaek [illegible] not only in
the wedding [illegible] part [illegible] marriage
through [illegible] feet on the
"first [illegible]" [illegible] that [illegible] ritual [illegible]. The
spouses of the [illegible] involved in these
[illegible] kohbeng, male
and female, present [illegible] festivities,
and they help to organize the [illegible] before and after
the wedding, serve [illegible] to the [illegible] make
sure that everyone [illegible] to join in the [illegible]
chance to [illegible] groom's kongmaek [illegible] the bride's
kongbeng help [illegible] them to [illegible] the wedding
ceremony. These additional kongbeng are [illegible] often friends
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or kongbeng [illegible] and established
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between the [illegible] traditional kongbeng.
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the husband and by using any influence with relatives and other contacts in administrative or other important positions to help the couple over difficulties. The couple in their turn must try to meet any requests for help and assistance, ideally putting their *koumbaros* before anyone else, but actually putting his claims equally with those of their closest relatives. If the *koumbaros* is himself the groom's employer his standing as *koumbaros* increases his control over fixing the days and the type of work. The *koumbaros* relationship involves the obligation for the groom to try to fit in with his *koumbaros*' plans.

In practice, the extent to which the possibilities of the relationship are realized varies considerably. The islanders emphasized that a wedding *koumbaros* was chosen mainly for his social skills, the good humour and sociability essential for the successful organization and liveliness of the wedding festivities. A young farmer who had been a wedding sponsor on seven occasions said: "To be a *koumbaros* is fun, and there is no expense involved", and then went on to compare wedding sponsorship with the serious nature and expense of godparenthood.

A Wedding

No wedding took place during my period of fieldwork, but on a return visit to the island in the summer of 1968,

I attended the festivities preceding a wedding, although the steamer schedule forced me to leave before the wedding ceremony itself. The following account is compiled from informants' descriptions, from notes on the festivities which I saw myself, and from a "mock-wedding" which a group of women acted and sang for me one winter's evening.

The festivities surrounding the wedding ceremony which takes place on a Sunday begin during the preceding week and finish on the Monday evening.

The wedding sponsor who will garland the couple at the ceremony is usually chosen and known to all the islanders from the time of the couple's betrothal. If the sponsor is a woman, koumbara, she is associated more with the bride, and with the preparations and hospitality offered to guests by the bride's family. The koumbara is nearly always a married woman who is a friend, perhaps even a contemporary of the bride, with the social and practical skills appropriate to her role.

If the sponsor is a man, koumbaros, as is most usual, he is chosen by the groom chiefly for the qualities which will make him a good-humoured and effective master of ceremonies. He is often a married man, older than the groom.

Besides the wedding sponsor, both bride and groom have a group of friends also called koumbari, to help and

support them. The groom's koumbari, his married and unmarried friends and relatives, help him get ready for the service, accompany him to the church, make up verses in his praise and dance at all the festivities. The bride's koumbares, her sisters, cousins and friends, usually unmarried, help in preparing the dowry house where the entertaining will be done, in getting food ready and in entertaining guests. They are directed and organized by the female wedding sponsor or by the wife of the koumbaros who will garland the couple, or by some other married woman who is recognized as chief koumbara.

On the Thursday before the wedding this koumbara asks all the bride's girl friends and female relatives and the groom's female relatives to come to the dowry house, now on public view for the first time. They come in order to help blanch almonds, which are mixed with honey to make the sweet, koufeta, which is served to wedding guests. Many kilos of almonds are dropped into pans of boiling water, sieved into large bowls and carried out to the table in the main room of the house. The girls sit around the table stripping off the almond shells and singing traditional songs. Older women, relatives of the bride and groom, and female neighbours of their natal families, prompt the girls and often take over the singing. The song takes the form of solo lines repeated by a chorus. Verses are made up to

specify the charms of the bride. Some of these verses are phrased as being addressed to the bride by specific relatives, her grandmother, her mother, her aunts etc., and some lines are aimed at relatives of the groom who are thought or known to have criticized the match. The groom's female relatives take their cue from this and begin to sing verses in *his* praise in aggressive retort. The young *koumbares* take the bowls of shelled almonds into the kitchen, throw away the shells and refill the bowls. As the last almonds are shelled the singers return to the traditional verses in praise of both bride and groom, with references to the parents and parents-in-law, and to the *koumbari*. Such verses are:

> "O bride, we bring you a tall tree to stand in your courtyard. Water it well with fresh water so that all your enemies burst with jealousy."

> "O bride, the *koufeta* are finished. We wish you long life and happiness, and long life to your *koumbari*."

The *koumbares* serve *sesamomylo*, a mixture of sesame seeds and honey to the guests.

The company is then joined by the menfolk and male friends of each family, and dancing begins in the house and courtyard, in the village square or in the schoolroom.*

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*On the occasion I witnessed, the crowd insisted that the groom unlock the door and be first into the schoolroom.

On the Friday the koumbares help the bride's mother to make bread for ta trapezia, the wedding feast.

On the Saturday the koumbares make up the bridal bed in the dowry house;- the sheets and covers which the bride has embroidered and edged with deep crochet-lace borders are used for the first time. The relatives and friends come to the house and throw money, flowers and rice on to the bed. The koumbares offer them koufeta and a glass of liqueur with which to toast the bride and groom. Sheep and goats are slaughtered ready for the feasting. The sweets and drinks which are offered in the dowry house are provided by the bride's family but the food for the feasting is contributed half and half by each partner's family. Some informants said that each feast in turn is the financial responsibility of a different individual. The first is that of the bride's father, the second is provided by the groom's father, and the final feast by the koumbaros.

When a marriage takes place after an elopement the girl's family will have nothing to do with the festivities or the ceremony, and the feasting is given by the groom's family with the help of the koumbaros.

In the afternoon preparations begin for making the wedding garlands. Nowadays the garlands of imitation lemon or orange blossom are brought from Athens and trimmed with ribbon. Formerly, - "in the old days and during the

Occupation and Civil war" - the garlands were made from vine branches. The priest, the bridegroom, the _koumbaros_, accompanied by musicians playing the violin, the island bagpipes (_tsabouna_), the clarinet, lute and drum, and by a crowd of villagers, went out to a vineyard near the village to cut pliant vine branches. The bride and her _koumbares_ stayed in the village waiting in the dowry house until the crowd returned with the vines, which were then shaped into circlets and trimmed with fresh flowers and ribbon. Garlands of this type can still be seen surrounding large wedding photos, or in glass-fronted cases on the wall over the marriage bed of middle-aged and elderly couples. The grandmother of an engaged girl, reminded by the preparations for her granddaughter's marriage, told me how, forty years ago, her bridal bed was canopied and hung with curtains. Members of the vine-cutting party brought garlands of wild flowers back with them from the fields and pinned them to the curtains, threw them on top of the canopy and some of the groom's _koumbari_ pushed burrs and thorns between the sheets. The garlands were so heavily trimmed with flowers that she and her husband "looked like flowers".

The making and trimming of the garlands is also an occasion for traditional songs and verses. This time the bride and groom sit together in the dowry house while the _koumbara_ trims the garlands and the _koumbares_ sing. The

couple do not take part in the singing but stare at the table while verses in their praise are flung back and forth between the singers and chorus. When the garlands are completed the company leave the house for the square or the schoolroom and the musicians play for dancing. The *koumbaros* who will garland the couple goes round with a flask of liqueur and a glass and offers it to the guests to toast himself, the bride and the groom. He also offers the glass to the chief dancers during and after their solos. One of the café proprietors sets up shop in a corner of the schoolroom and sells soft drinks, bottled beer, wine and liqueurs. The bride and groom are usually separated in the line of dancers by the *koumbaros* or *koumbara*. The groom is expected to perform many solo dances at the head of the line to show off his stamina and agility. He holds on to a handkerchief held by the second in line, so that he has greater ease of movement for jumps, turns and display. As he dances he throws money to the musicians. The other dancers, lightly holding hands, dance in a more restrained style, occasionally hissing between their teeth and shouting to the groom in encouragement. The bride is expected to behave modestly but to dance lightly and tirelessly. At the dance I attended I overheard a number of adverse comments that the bride looked glum, never smiled and kept her eyes downcast. Her demeanour was contrasted with that of one of

her _koumbares_ whose fiancé had just returned from his military service. Their wedding was to be held the next month. The engaged girl behaved with the expected propriety but was so full of joy that her beaming smiles and flashing glances to her fiancé were noted and approved. During the dance the _koumbaros_ is tireless in his efforts to please everyone by getting the musicians to play various dances, by coaxing the _koumbares_ and relatives of the bride and groom to dance, by asking them in order of closeness of relationship and seniority, and by restraining the _koumbari_ from getting too drunk and noisy and taking over the party. He calls out toasts, shouts traditional and impromptu verses, encourages those with a reputation for clever verses to sing their own, throws money to the musicians, rearranges the line of dancers for each dance so that everyone gets a turn, and pushes young children off the dance floor. The dancing goes on into the small hours.

Early on Sunday morning the _koumbares_ go to the bride after her last night in her natal family house. They wash and dress her and accompany her to the church with the musicians.

The chief elements of the ceremony are the putting on of the wedding rings, the garlanding - _stefanosis_ - and the "Dance of Isaiah". The plain gold rings which were blessed at the betrothal ceremony and worn by the couple on the

third finger of the left hand, are now blessed and put on to the third finger of the right hand. The priest blesses the garlands which lie on a salver put on a table in front of the altar screen, and places them on the heads of the bride and groom. The <u>koumbaros</u> who stands behind the couple exchanges the garlands three times. This act is regarded as the critical and central point of the ceremony. The alternative verb for "to marry" means "to be garlanded". The term <u>koumbaros</u> can mean either wedding sponsor or god-parent, and the phrase "he garlanded them" is used to distinguish the former from the latter.

The <u>koumbaros</u>, <u>koumbara</u>, bride and groom, and the priest then join hands and dance in front of the altar screen, while the guests pelt them with flower petals, sugared almonds and rice.

After the ceremony the bride and groom are led to the dowry house where they receive the congratulations of all those present at the church. The <u>koumbares</u> go round in pairs, one with a dish of honey and almond, <u>koufeta</u>, the other with a spoon, a glass of water and a tea-towel to clean the spoon after each guest has taken a mouthful. After the <u>koufeta</u> has been served the relatives and friends of both families sit down to a meal. Dancing follows in the square or the schoolroom, then another meal in the dowry house, with more dancing until late at night in the

schoolroom. During the feasting and dancing the koumbares makes sure that everyone is served and has a full glass of wine, and the koumbaros proposes toasts and suggests when to move on to the next stage of the celebrations. He ensures that "no one has anything to complain about." Finally the dancers lead the couple back to the dowry house singing and shouting as the groom closes the door. The koumbari have many practical jokes planned for this moment; they may haul a donkey on to the roof, tie a cat to the door handle, bang on the walls, light fires in the courtyard, shout false alarms and try to listen in by going into an adjoining house or lifting each other up to the high windows. The koumbaros should try to restrain them. One islander told me of a time when he was koumbaros and had taken the couple to their new house beside an old chapel; he then added an extra length of rope to the bell-pull and tied the end of the rope to the door-handle. He lit a fire in the courtyard, knocked on the door and shouted to the groom that the house was in danger. As the groom in his underwear opened the door the chapel bell began to ring, and smoke billowed into the house.

Recounting such incidents forms a major part of the description by men of any particular wedding or of weddings in general. Women are more likely to discuss the preparations, the food, the clothes and the dowry house furnishings. Then

they describe how on the Monday morning the groom's mother comes to the house "to wake the couple", the purpose of the visit being to see the proof of the bride's virginity on the sheets of the marriage bed. The women who described this to me mimicked the groom's mother's mixed reluctance and curiosity, the head thrown back to signify "No, I don't want to see", and the craning neck to see over the bride's shoulder to the bed. It was said that "in the old days" the sheet was hung out for everyone to see, but none of my informants had done or witnessed this.

Later in the day the meat left over from the Sunday feasting is minced, mixed with grated onion and breadcrumbs and made into meat-balls - keftedes - about which many ribald jokes are made by the koumbari. A final feast is held in the dowry house and the festivities end with a dance in the schoolroom.

Later contact with the wedding koumbaros

Once the wedding festivities are over the couple settle down to working out their own domestic and working routine. The groom, now a socially adult household head, joins the men who patronize the two major cafés. Here he approaches potential employers or is sounded out by them for day wage-labouring jobs. The koumbaros often helps to arrange these encounters, to suggest the groom as a workman to those

looking for labourers, and to prompt him to offer his labour before a job is generally known to be available. The _koumbaros_ uses his own village network to find out plans for building, repair and farming jobs which will require workmen. He has a certain obligation to offer to the groom any work which he himself wants done and to sound out his contacts for any well-paid builder's labourers' jobs in Athens during the summer months.

If the groom is a shepherd the _koumbaros_, usually a successful shepherd himself, may give him some of his own beasts to tend, and tries to persuade other villagers to give animals into the young man's care. The groom can thus begin to build up his own flock, through buying them or acquiring them, as he gets half the offspring and half the fleece of the beasts he tends for others. The _koumbaros_ will also suggest whom to approach for renting grazing land and will put in a good word. The situation is delicate, for the _koumbaros_ has got his own interests to serve too, but if he is well established with firm renting arrangements of his own, and a large flock, he has nothing to lose and a lot to gain by being helpful and using his experience to help the groom.

The groom needs a kindly and established _koumbaros_ to help him acquire his own network. If and when he does the _koumbaros_ has fulfilled his duty to help smooth the first

months of the marriage and is no longer needed in this way. If he has proved reliable and helpful the relationship is made lasting by the groom's asking him to stand as godparent to the first child.

The bride has become mistress of her own house. She gets advice and help from her mother, her married sisters and other relatives, and especially from the _koumbara_, who has this duty. The bride often builds up a relationship of mutual help with a neighbour, often a young married contemporary, sharing an oven for breadmaking, and co-operating in other domestic chores. This neighbour is likely to be asked to be a godparent, even though the two women need each other's help less as their daughters grow up.

Relations with the spouse's parents are formalized from the time of the betrothal and are not very much changed by the wedding itself. During the engagement the spouse's parents are referred to and addressed by the appropriate kinship terms, _petheros_, father-in-law, and _pethera_, mother-in-law. The parents-in-law seemed to address the prospective spouse by the first name, and to refer to them as "our X's fiancé or fiancée," _aravonyastikos_ or _aravonyastika_. After the wedding the daughter-in-law is referred to as "our bride", _nifi mas_, and the son-in-law as "our groom", _gambros mas_. These terms are used by all the parents and siblings in-laws, and have the meaning "the man, or woman, who is married

to one of my nuclear family". The parents of the bride and of the groom refer to and address each other as _sympetheros_ and _sympethera_,"my child's father/mother-in-law."

As I have stressed before, it is the duty of _koumbaros_ and _koumbara_ to help establish the newly married couple so that they can become an autonomous household. Parents and parents-in-law have other children and other commitments, and while they are involved in the success of the marriage because this reflects on them, they must also remain a separate and independent household, closely involved only with those members still belonging. They cannot be fair to these children if they are helping to build up the newly created families of children who have married. It is thus the _koumbaros_' role to ensure that the newly married couple have an adviser and helper, ideally throughout their married life, but usually only during the period they are trying to establish themselves.

Godparenthood

The term _koumbaros_ is also used reciprocally between a couple and the godparent of one of their children. The child calls the godparent _nonnos_ or _nonna_, the godparent refers to the godchild as _vaptistikos/vaptistika_ or _vaptisteros/vaptistera_, "the boy (or girl) I baptized." The sex of the godchild is notrelated to that of the godparent; men can stand as godfather to baby girls, or to boys, and

women to boys or to girls, (but see p. 304). On Anaphi the term synteknos "joint creator of the child" or "co-parent" is also used by a child's parents to the godparent of that child, and to distinguish a baptismal koumbaros from a wedding koumbaros. The use of synteknos as a term of address and reference for the godparent of one's child is not current in other parts of Greece, at least I can find no mention of it in other monographs, nor did I hear it used other than on Anaphi. It was used mainly in conversation by middle-aged and elderly islanders, but younger couples used it as an obsolete technical term to make precise distinctions in discussions with me on koumbaros relationships. I shall use the term to avoid the ambiguity implied by the use of the term koumbaros except when I wish to include both wedding and baptismal sponsors within the meaning of the word.

The islanders say that a father makes a child yia to gusto tou "for his own pleasure", while it is the godparent who makes the child a Christianos, a human being, a Greek and a member of the community. The tie between the child and the godparent, and between the parents and their synteknos is based on the importance of being a Christianos. Without a godparent the child cannot be named, and without a name he or she cannot become a member of Anaphiot society nor inherit the property which goes with the name, and marks

full adult male or female status. The parents recognize the extent of their obligation to their synteknos for his vital role in establishing their child in the community, by giving him preferential help, by putting his requests before those of any other potential employee, and he in turn helps them both in practical ways and by using his influence on their behalf.

The godparent provides a complete set of clothes for the child to wear after baptism by total immersion; a gold cross to be worn on festival days, and gifts of money for parents, grandparents, other close relatives, the priest and guests at the christening party. He continues to give the child clothes and presents over the years, to follow growth and development and to use his influence and contacts to smooth difficulties and arrange favours in any circumstances in which the child's welfare is directly or indirectly involved. The help and favours given to the godchild's parents are an extension of the godparent's duty to make sure that the child is materially and spiritually provided for. The godchild must answer any requests for help and ensure that the godparent is well looked after in old age, particularly if there are no children or close kin on the island. Often the godparent is asked to perform the engagement ceremony for the godchild, blessing the rings in front of an ikon and asking the two young people if they

are entering voluntarily into the betrothal.

A Baptism

Baptisms on Anaphi usually take place on a Sunday afternoon to suit the convenience of the Abbot. He comes to the church, puts on his vestments and sends a child to get the caretaker from his home nearby to bring the brass font (kolybithra) out of the vestry and to put it in the centre of the church. A child is then sent to ask one of the baby's family to bring hot water to fill the font. (The family often make arrangements with the church caretaker to do this for them). This message indicates that things are ready, so the baptismal party sets off towards the church. The baby's mother usually remains at home, often because the baptism takes place within the forty days after the birth during which time she is ritually impure, and unable to enter a church. If the baptism takes place after forty days and after she has been "churched" she is able to attend the ceremony but prefers to stay at home to make the final arrangements for the baptism party. The widow who generally acts as midwife in the village carries the baby to the church door, surrounded by a crowd of the baby's relatives and by neighbours and children. The godparent and the baby's father accompany the midwife. The Abbot comes to the church door to meet them. Meanwhile the child's father fits three candles into a holder on the side

of the font, puts soap into a little dish by the font, and sets nearby a small bottle of olive oil provided by the godparent, which will be blessed for anointing the baby. Women and girls prepare a table at the back of the church, where the baby can be undressed and dressed again later on a pile of towels and sheets.

The midwife holds the baby while the priest asks the godparent to say the Creed three times, to spit three times on the floor to renouce the Devil, and to rub the spittle into the floor with the toe of his shoe. This spitting appears to be an island or country custom, as Athenian godparents always seemed surprised and uncomfortable at carrying out the priest's promptings. The priest then asks the godparent to give the child a name. Because of the island custom of naming children after the parents' parents, and then after collateral relatives, the name is usually well known in advance (cf. Campbell 1964: p.200, where the godparent may choose the name). The priest then breathes three times on the baby in the midwife's arms and moves over to the centre of the church, where he takes the baby, holds it up facing the altar screen, and moves it in the shape of a cross. He then gives the baby to the godparent to hold, unless the godparent is a boy or a man unused to holding babies. In such cases the midwife takes the baby. The priest then censes the church and the congregation, fills

the font, lights the candles in the holder on its edge and blesses the water, breathing on its surface three times in the shape of the cross. The baby is taken to the table and undressed, wrapped in a cloth provided by the godparent and brought to the font. The baby's father rolls back the priest's sleeves and tucks a towel around him and then offers him the bottle of oil. The priest blesses the oil, pours some into the font in the shape of the cross and rubs the rest over the baby's body, marking hands, feet, breast and mouth with a cross. As all the children in the church crowd round the font the baby is immersed three times in the mixture of oil and water. The priest hands the baby back to the midwife to be dried. She receives the baby in the cloth provided by the godparent which, because it becomes soaked with holy water and oil, cannot be used for anything else, unless it is first washed in sea water which "takes away" its sacred quality. The baby is dressed in the complete set of new white clothes given by the godparent and taken back to the font. The priest then cuts four tufts of hair from its head, to symbolize the sign of the cross, and throws the hair into the font, passing the blade of the scissors through the candle flames. The godparent then takes the child from the priest and follows him around the font for three blessings, each spoken facing in a different direction. If the baby is a boy the priest takes him in his

arms and goes through the central door of the altar screen and walks with him around the altar. If the baby is a girl she cannot be taken behind the altar screen because of her sex. As the ceremony ends, the priest and congregation leave the church to go to the baptism party. The caretaker empties the font down a special drain in the church yard so that the holy water and oil will not touch or be touched by secular substances.

At the house the baby's mother welcomes the guests and serves them with sweets and liqueur with which they propose the health of the baby, now taken from the godparent and lying in its cradle. It is during these toasts that the parents and godparent first address each other as koumbaros, and the parents encourage their other children to call their baby sibling's godparent nonnos or nonna. The toasts are usually those of "May the child live for you"; "May you see the child's wedding," "Many happy and lucky years". The godparent toasts the parents, the grandparents and any other close relatives of the baby, and is in turn toasted by them. Children crowd around the doorway and the father goes out with a plate of honey and almonds, a traditional baptism party sweet, and gives each of them a spoonful. The godparent then pins tiny ribboned medallions on the chief guests and gives gifts of money to the parents, grandparents and the priest. The convention is that this money should

be slipped into the hand in a secretive way, with a muttered wish of long life, and that the recipient should pocket it without looking at it, returning expressionless thanks. At this point the afternoon baptism ends, but often there is an evening party with music, dancing and drinking into the early hours of the next day. As at the afternoon party, the godparent is the guest of honour, together with other important and influential villagers who are invited to the celebrations.

The behaviour of the parents to their synteknos on the day of the baptism is predominantly one of formalised respect, with self-conscious use and acceptance of koumbaros as a term of address and reference. This is particularly so if the synteknos is a member of the Athenian émigré community. If the synteknos is a villager, especially one with whom there is already an established tie of neighbourhood or kinship, or of koumbaria, behaviour shows the friendly but still respectful intimacy which later characterizes all effective koumbaros relationships.

The godparent is expected to take the godchild up to the altar screen to receive communion on the three successive Sundays after the baptism. If the godparent is an Athenian and leaves the island before all or any of the Sundays are passed, the mother takes the baby for communion. The baby takes the bread and wine from a spoon, just as

adults do.

Later contact with the Synteknos (baptismal Koumbaros).

The relationship between the family of the godparent and that of the godchild is considered to be one of spiritual kinship. Intermarriage between families so related is forbidden by canon law to the degree of third cousin, just as marriage is prohibited with any consanguine to this degree. Local custom says in addition that a godparent should only stand sponsor to children of one sex in case any of the godchildren wish to marry each other, as this is also forbidden by canon law.* The godchildren of any one person are said to be related to each other by their bond of spiritual filiation to the godparent. They are called stavradelphia, "siblings of the cross". By island custom all the godchildren have a photograph taken with their common godparent. I found no evidence that the reciprocal rights and duties between godparent, godchild and godchild's parents extended to the godchildren of a common godparent, but it seems likely that ties of spiritual kinship between co-godchildren might serve as grounds for seeking assistance and favours when kin, koumbari and affines were unavailable or unwilling.

The other children in the family call their sibling's

*The islanders say "they cannot marry because the oil came from the same house", that of the godparent.

godparent _nonnos_ or _nonna_, "as a sign of respect", although they are quite clear that the relationship with this _synteknos_ of their parents is unlike that with their own godparents. When they are older they address the sibling's godparent as "uncle/aunt" or "grandfather/grandmother", depending on the age difference and generation gap. A person's older siblings may call his godparent _theios_, "uncle", while his younger siblings will call him _pappous_ "granddad". In general any individual of a junior generation, no matter what chronological age, uses kinship terms in addressing members of the senior generation when there is a distant inexplicit kinship tie, or a link of some other kind between the families. The change in the term of address for a sibling's godparent indicates a lessening of involvement of and identification with the natal family. The sibling's godparent no longer belongs to a special category of persons with a particular type of relationship to all the godchild's family, but now belongs, as far as the siblings are concerned, to the wider category of respected members of the senior generation. The siblings cease to be involved in the _koumbaros_ relationships of other members of their natal family and begin to establish their own _koumbaros_ relationships, retaining only the tie with their own godparent.

The man who has never acted as a wedding sponsor or godparent is free from the claims for services and favours

based on the relationship, but he is also without the opportunity to exert reciprocal claims. Not to be a _koumbaros_ implies that a man has nothing to offer, as a wedding sponsor or as a godparent, and this "nothing" is an evaluation not merely of his economic position and lack of influential contacts, but also an assessment of his lack of honour, which tends to be correlated with economic status. To choose such a man as _koumbaros_ reflects badly on the couple making the choice, and by implication reduces their reputation for honour and their own evaluation of it to the level of the _koumbaros_.

There are, of course, families with little land and few resources who are highly respected and sought after as _koumbari_, but generally low economic status is given a low moral evaluation, and families in this category seek _koumbari_ from those of similar status who consequently do not possess a wide range of ties among islanders and émigrés. Similarly, one index of the prestige of islanders with a regular income and/or large land-holdings is the number of _koumbaros_ relationships in which they are involved. For example, the _proedros_ has seven ties as godparent with island families and has been a wedding sponsor many times; one of the councillors of the proedros' party has five godchildren and "more wedding _koumbari_ than I can remember" (he mentioned more than ten names); another councillor has six _koumbaros_

ties; a councillor of the opposing faction has give _koumbaros_ ties with island families; the post-office clerk has been a wedding sponsor nine times, a godparent three times, and was in a _koumbaros_ relationship with six other families through the godparental ties of his wife and eldest daughter.

The implications of choice of godparent

Because of the importance of the mutual claims and obligations of those involved in the godparental relationship, parents take care to ask at least one influential islander to be godparent to one of their children. Such men as the _proedros_, council members, the schoolmaster and the post-office clerk, have many godchildren and have acted as wedding sponsors on many occasions, besides having ties to families for whom their wives, and in some cases unmarried children, have acted as sponsors and godparents. Important members of the émigré community in Athens are asked to become wedding and baptismal _koumbari_ on their summer visits to the island. Such a _koumbaros_ may be influential in helping the new husband or, in later years, in helping the godchild to find a job probably in the city, or in using contacts to manipulate a situation to the godchild's or his parents' advantage. The Athenian _koumbaros_ relies on the support of his island _koumbari_ for himself or for his own patrons in the political context of island, city or national affairs.

Several island families chose a childless or unmarried godparent for one of their children. This child, usually one born after the first son and the first daughter, is expected to inherit the godparent's property in return for care in illness and old age and for performing funeral and memorial ceremonies. Some of these families said that they had been approached by the prospective godparent on these terms. There is a clear balance made in the arrangements between the godchild's duty to care for the physical and spiritual welfare of the godparent, and the right to inheritance after the godparent's death. The godparent fulfils the required duties toward the godchild, makes the godchild his heir and, in turn, can be sure that he will be cared for in old age, and that the funeral service and cycle of memorial ceremonies necessary to ensure that his soul gets to God will be carried out.

The care-inheritance aspect of these godparent-godchild relationships is made more explicit in instances in which island godchildren were legally adopted by childless godparents in Athens. I knew of three families from which a child had been adopted by city godparents. In each case there was already a kinship link between the godparent or spouse and the godchild's family, and the child was one of the youngest in a large family.*

*Compare with Hammel's assertion: "I find no evidence that property can be inherited by ritual kin in the absence of consanguineal heirs." 1968: p. 91.

Islanders and émigrés are aware of the calculations of advantage and future gains for each party to the relationship involved in the choice of godparent. Each party must feel that the balance of rights and duties is fairly favourable to himself. An influential islander or member of the émigré community may feel that he will have little opportunity to exert claims for help or labour on his godchild's father, and will himself be involved in gift-giving and have pressure put on him to get favours for the family. On the other hand a farmer, particularly a skilled workman, may fear that his child's godparent will make unavoidable claims on his time and skills. Often each party is suspicious of the other's intentions. Before making a direct request the parents, or the prospective godparent, sound out the possibilities of acceptance or refusal of godparenthood. Parents often start a rumour of their intentions, which they know will reach the proposed godparent, whose reactions will be relayed back to them. They can then ask directly or choose an alternative. A prospective godparent also uses the same tactics. Three incidents illustrate these points:

The _proedros_' wife was worried about gossip that her husband had instigated her offer to be godparent of the third daughter born to a young farmer who helped at one of the two smithies in the village. Gossip went that the

proedros who could not stand as godparent himself because his other godchildren were boys, intended to use the koumbaros relationship between the two households as a means of getting welding and metal-mending jobs done quickly and preferentially. The proedros' wife claimed that she had not offered herself as godmother, but had been approached by the child's parents.

An island family had written to ask a member of the émigré community to stand as godparent to their third child, the second daughter. They later found that the chosen godparent was unable to make a summer visit to the island that year (perhaps a fiction to avoid becoming a godparent), so that the baptism would have to be delayed. They then asked an émigré summer visitor already staying on the island, and arranged the baptism within a week. The second-choice godparent was, of course, unprepared for the role and was unable to provide the usual baptismal clothes and gifts. The parents were criticized for mishandling the situation, for the hasty and skimpy baptism preparations and festivities, and for exhibiting so obviously their desire to obtain a member of the émigré community as koumbaros.

Some godparents are chosen, and accept, before the child is born. A young unmarried woman from the émigré community asked if she could be godmother when she was first told that her mother's second cousin's wife was

pregnant. Besides the kinship connection there was also a koumbaros tie between the two families, so that when the child was born and baptised, the girl became nonna to the grandson of her own mother's nonnos.

This case is also of interest because it is rare for koumbaros relationships to be reciprocal. In the instances where there is "doubling" so that a wedding sponsor later becomes a godparent, or a godparent's child stands as wedding sponsor to the godchild, it is nearly always one family that performs the sponsorship, and the other family which is sponsored. There are very few instances of a godparent from one family and a wedding sponsor from the other over two or three generations. There are, in fact, so few of these instances that it is difficult to generalise about the reasons for their being exceptions which might prove the rule of the unilateral nature of the sponsoring relationship. I shall return to this point later. (See p. 313).

In several cases parents chose as godparents individuals who had no established ties in the island community. Examples of such individuals are - policemen stationed on Anaphi; fishermen from the large refrigerated boats which fish in the area; meat—merchants visiting the island before Easter to select sheep and goats to transport for slaughter for Easter feasting; and the taxi-driver on Thira who took an expectant mother to hospital after meeting the caique

which brought her over from Anaphi.

There are clear advantages in most of these relationships with "strangers" as far as an islander is concerned; bureaucratic matters can be arranged, preferential sales or purchases made, and other favours performed for him. For the "stranger", the non-islander, becoming a godparent on the island involves the duty of carrying out such favours, but also establishes a role for him within the island community and provides a set of rights and duties without which small comforts, favours and a guarded acceptance of him by the islanders, would be unobtainable. The _koumbaros_ relationship gives the "stranger" a basis and a reference point for himself and others during the times he stays on the island. The fisherman and the meat-merchant godparents have rights to hospitality rather than seeking paid board and lodging. They are included in the men's news and gossip groups which give them an advantage in getting to know island conditions more easily than can other strangers. A policeman _koumbaros_ is not expected to be a house-guest because his term of duty may last several years, but he is given, or found, a house for a favourable rent through his island _koumbaros_' good offices, given presents of fruit, vegetables and other produce which would be difficult to find for sale, and shares of illegally dynamited fish, or partridges shot out of season, to ensure his complicity. The policeman expects

in return to get a wider knowledge of island affairs through access to freer and franker sources of information - his island _koumbaros_ and family - than he would from acquaintances and _cafeneion_ gossip.

Thus while islanders try to choose influential godparents for their children, there is also competition to be chosen as a godparent. Both sides want to establish a relationship of mutual obligation, from which each expects to get the things he wants. These things include, for the godparent preferential help on the land, political support, care in old age, and the assurance of properly performed funeral and memorial ceremonies; for the child's parent, preferential wage-labouring jobs, influential contacts, and the possible inheritance of property for the child.

"Doubling" and continued association.

Often those chosen as _koumbari_ are members of a family with which a previous _koumbaros_ tie existed. A man asks the child of his godparent to act as his wedding sponsor, and may himself be asked to become godfather to the child of a couple to whom his parents acted as wedding sponsor. A _koumbaros_ tie can also be "doubled" when a wedding sponsor later becomes godparent to the first child of the marriage.

In his analysis of ritual relations in the Balkans Hammel (1968) discusses similar data on doubling and agnatic succession to sponsorship roles. Sponsoring relationships, he says, have a "collective character" and

"are best viewed as being contracted between groups rather than between individuals, or at least between individuals by virtue of their group membership", (p. 89). [The "group" here is the _zadruga_, the patrilocal joint or extended family]. Similar institutions in other parts of Europe "are more easily described as a system of individual dyadic contracts in which group members _may_ become involved by extension," (p. 45).

There is no evidence that on Anaphi _koumbaros_ relationships are systematically continued between families, nor that _koumbaria_ is regarded as an inherited or heritable relationship. _Koumbaros_ relationships also exist with families with whom there is a kinship or affinal tie. A man acts as wedding sponsor for his siblings, his parallel or cross cousins, and for unmarried siblings of affines; he may stand as godparent to siblings', cousins' and affines' children. It seems that the establishment of a _koumbaros_ relationship between members of families already linked by actual or spiritual kinship ties emphasizes that the mutual rights and obligations involved are mandatory only for the nuclear families concerned in that particular relationship. The more flexible, optional ties between families linked by kinship, affinal or previous _koumbaros_ ties can only be set into the context of firmly binding rights and obligations by creating a _koumbaros_ tie between the members

of newly formed nuclear families, and thus reconstituting the basis of the relationship. Each nuclear family must establish its own ties in its own right.

Although Hammel says "the ties of ritual, consanguineal and affinal kinship are generally mutually exclusive", and shows how and why the three sets of ties are usually separate in the Balkans, he also quotes a Greek informant as saying "why go out and make a new relative when he is already a relative?" (p. 85, fn.) As I have tried to show, these ties are not mutually exclusive on Anaphi and the possible reasons are: the size of the island population, the extent of contact with non-residents, and the autonomy of each nuclear family. The interests of siblings diverge from each other and from the natal family once they set up separate households on marriage, and the creation of _koumbaros_ ties seem to offset this division into separate nuclear families by binding the sponsoring and the sponsored families with links of spiritual kinship. Pre-existing ties from the natal family are rephrased and re-established in the context of the existing and operative nuclear families.

The significance of the Koumbaros relationship

The religious aspect of _koumbaros_ ties is important for establishing and confirming the status of a married couple or of a child in the Anaphiot community. The wedding

sponsor validates a marriage and vouches for the couple. The future position of the newly-founded household is assessed by others and forecast by their <u>koumbaros</u> in terms of <u>his</u> position. The couple have yet to establish themselves as an honourable and respected household with a sound economic basis, which will later provide dowries for daughters and inheritance for sons. The <u>koumbaros</u> by accepting and performing his sponsoring role makes a public statement that the couple will, in his opinion, achieve such a position. He thus aligns and involves himself with them.

The baptismal sponsor validates a child's position as a moral and social being and relates himself to the child and its parents and their future.

It is clear that the rights and duties involved in <u>koumbaros</u> relationships on Anaphi are economic in that they are concerned with jobs and skilled and unskilled labour. They are politically important because they involve decisions about the allocation of these jobs. They also involve competition to influence decision-making and to control access to officials and administrators in bureaucratic organizations.

<u>Koumbaros</u> relationships regulate the pressures of supply and demand for labour, needs which alter with the yearly cycle and with each year's specific problems. They are the major context for patron-client ties within and

outside Anaphi as an island and as a community of residents and émigrés. Anaphiots, like Sarakatsani (Campbell 1964: p. 218) use koumbaros links to create personal ties with individuals in official positions so that they can use these individuals and their networks of relationships.

Many koumbaros ties are with members of the émigré community, some of whom have official positions or jobs in business and trade, and ties with others in similar positions. Some ties are with non-Anaphiot affines of émigré families. There are ties within the island with members of various government organizations, the post-office clerk, the police, the schoolteacher and, through them, with senior officials in the national hierarchy.

These ties are not like those of the Sarakatsani "across the frontiers of community" (Campbell 1964: p. 218) and with those outside the "field of values", but they are formed to provide ways of manipulating the impersonal mechanisms of bureaucracy and of the labour market to the advantage of the family.

Funeral and memorial services

One of the most important aspects of kin and ritual kin relationships is the duty to perform the funeral service, kytheia, and the required number of memorial services, mnemosyna, for the souls of the dead; and finally to exhume and re-inter the bones when the corpse has rotted.

The obligation usually obtains between children and parents and is seen as a reciprocation by the children for their parents' care for them in youth, and particularly for their provision of lands for sons and dowry for daughters. The connection between these ritual duties towards others and the inheritance of property is most explicit in the cases of those who are unmarried or childless, or with no descendants or collateral relatives on the island or in Greece. Such a person approaches an islander who has the reputation of being an honest and fairly devout man, and broaches the topic of his own advancing age and preparations for death and the after-life. If the younger man has small children and is likely to have others, the old man offers to stand as godparent to one of the yet unborn children. The two men will then be koumbari and the rights and duties they have towards each other, one for care in life and after death, the other to inheritance for his children, are set in a religious context with the strongest of sanctions on observance. If it is not possible to establish a koumbaros relationship there is not the same degree of confidence that promises on each side will be fulfilled until the old man gets his will drawn up, and the younger man and his wife show by their care and attention that they will look after him. The burden of care falls on the wife; she takes the old man his meals, does his washing and some house-

work, and sends her children to him each day to run errands.

The post-office clerk had inherited a field cottage, arable land, olives and vines from an old man with whom he made such an agreement. He spoke of the property as a return for several years of care, for nursing during the old man's final illness, and for the expenses involved in the funeral and memorial services, which on my estimate must have totalled around 2,000 drachmas (about £24 at the time of fieldwork).

The performance of these duties is not exclusively linked to property inheritance. Parents perform mnemosyna for children who die over the age of seven years old. Before this age it is said, "Children do not need mnemosyna as they have no sins." The bodies of children under seven are, like all island dead, buried in the cemetery and exhumed when the body has rotted. The bones are re-interred either in a family vault in the cemetery, in a family-owned chapel, or in an ossuary in the fields. If an adult but unmarried person dies, his parents carry out the cycle of services and the obligation passes to siblings when the parents get too old or if they die before the cycle is completed. If a married person dies the spouse and then the children are responsible for the mnemosyna.

The holding of various mnemosyna is reckoned roughly from the date of death, but there are several fixed annual church services for the commemoration of the souls of the

dead.* For these occasions only _kolyva_, a mixture of boiled wheat and pomegranate seeds, is made to be blessed at the end of the Sunday morning Liturgy and then distributed to the congregation. The _mnemosyna_ linked to an individual's death involve other items beside _kolyva_. However, after the service in the afternoon on Easter Day, each family with members who died over the previous three years provides sweets, liqueurs, bread and honey, and fresh cheese for the rest of the congregation.

Thus these ritual duties to the dead are given both an individual expression and a communal one. A particular family performs a _mnemosyno_ which the rest of the village witness, and three times a year all families with recent dead provide and participate in _mnemosyna_ distributions.

A Funeral

Several deaths occurred during the time of fieldwork, and the following account is drawn from attendance at two funerals. One, held on February 26, 1967, was that of an eighty-year-old widower. It was carried out by his closest relative on the island, a sister's daughter. The other was held on May 10, 1967. An old widow whose children were all in Athens died, and the funeral was arranged and organized

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*Second and first Saturday before Lent (the second Saturday before Lent is for priests only); First Saturday in Lent; Seventh Saturday after Easter, (i.e., Eve of Pentecost.

by a cousin, who was later repaid for the cost of the coffin and other expenses by the émigré children.

It is customary, and very often necessary, for the funeral to take place within twenty-four hours of the death. A permit must be obtained from the police before the funeral can begin, the Abbot must be brought in from the Monastery to perform the service (unless he happens to be in the village), the carpenter must make the coffin, and quantities of candles, sweets and liqueur must be bought for distribution to the congregation. The haste in which arrangements must be made contributes to an air of disorganization and flurry at the funeral. It may be that this impression was particularly strong at the funerals I attended because there were no close kin present, and none of the bitter mourning and reproaches to God described by other field-workers for funerals in other parts of Greece, (Lineton, personal communication). The hurried and casual atmosphere of these funerals contrasted with the deep emotion and grief I saw at exhumations.

The Abbot with a group of small boys holding lanterns and ritual objects from the altar went to the house where the dead person, dressed or covered by his best clothes, was lying in an open coffin. Men followed the Abbot into the room, taking off their caps as they went through the doorway. The Abbot censed the coffin and the people in

the room, the chief mourners and coffin bearers. The men who carried the coffin were related to the dead person in varying ways. Some with closer ties were too old or otherwise incapable of carrying the coffin, and they carried the coffin lid and trays of unlit candles. Related women wearing black headscarfs carried candles draped with purple cloth. Women in the crowd wore dark headscarfs as a sign of respect and men took off their caps as the coffin passed. The cafés were shut all during the service. Villagers who are not churchgoers stood at the church gate during the service and followed the coffin to the cemetery "to say goodbye".

There were tense moments when the coffin was manoeuvred up the steep flight of steps to the gate, and when it was rested on two chairs in the centre of the church with a lighted candle at head and foot. The coffin threatened to tilt too steeply in the climb, and to slip off the chairs, and one of the candles fell into the coffin. These near-accidents were not only seen as distasteful but possible signs that the dead person had not died easy, either with the state of affairs left behind, or with his own conscience.

The church service was short. The Abbot said prayers at the altar, and psalms were chanted. The Abbot came then into the centre of the church to cense the corpse and the congregation. Candles were given out by one of the male

mourners to each adult male in the church. Finally, the members of the congregation filed up to the coffin to kiss the forehead of the dead person and to kiss the ikon on his breast, across which his hands were folded and tied together with a black scarf. The coffin was taken up, following the Abbot and preceding the mourners. As they went along the main street and out along the path to the cemetery of Ayios Markos, a quarter of a mile north-east of the village, women began to chant a dirge - *miroloi* - based on traditional verses but with impromptu verses added to refer to incidents in the life of outstanding personalities, and their most admired qualities. When the procession When the procession reached the cemetery the coffin was lowered, still open, into one of the empty but previously used graves. At one funeral the coffin got stuck at the top of the grave shaft and the side planks had to be smashed in so that it would go down. Prayers were said, the grave censed, and the coffin lid put on. The Abbot then poured holy oil in the sign of the cross over the coffin and threw in a handful of soil. Members of the crowd joined in, saying "May God forgive him" (*O Theos synchores' tou*) as they threw in token handfuls of earth. The coffin bearers collected spades from the shed beside the chapel of Ayios Markos and finished filling in the grave. Later a mud-plaster covering was shaped over the grave and a cross or

dome put at the head with a niche for a photograph and an oil lamp. The whole was whitewashed.

The Abbot was asked by various people in the crowd to say prayers over family graves and cense them. Women took the opportunity to light the oil-lamps at the head of the graves of their own recent dead.

Outside the cemetery gate stood three men, relatives of the dead person. One had a handkerchief full of small coins, one had a plate piled high with loukoumi, Turkish Delight, and the third had a flask of liqueur and a small glass. To each person, adult or child, who left the cemetery they offered a coin, a sweet and a glass of liqueur. These were accepted with the phrase "God forgive him." This phrase is used in accepting mnemosyna distributions, and is believed to be essential for the soul. With each repetition a sin drops off the soul until at the end of the three years' cycle of ceremonies it reaches God.

When they got back to the village many women went to the stable, or henrun, wiped their shoes in the manure, and shook their skirts "so as not to bring death into the house". The mourners returned to the room where the coffin had been and received callers, who shook their hands and said "May you live to remember him", and "May God forgive him". I was told that a lighted candle and a glass of water are left in the room where the death took place for

forty days. As soon as the callers left, the chief woman mourner began to prepare kolyva for the first mnemosyno, held on the third day after the death. Subsequent mnemosyna are held on the ninth and fortieth day, then three months, six months, nine months and one year later. The final ceremony takes place three years after the death when the grave is broken open, the bones washed in wine, wrapped in a white cloth with a sprig of basil and re-interred. The coffin is left to decay in the cemetery.

Mnemosyna

The making of kolyva is the essential action in carrying out obligations to the dead. Kolyva is a mixture of boiled wheat and pomegranate seeds, prepared by women, and shared by members of the congregation attending memorial ceremonies.

The islanders believe that at death the soul is judged according to the good and bad deeds done during life. They used the analogy of a ladder or a flight of steps between heaven and hell. An angel takes the soul up one step for every good deed, and the devil pulls it down, one for each bad deed. When the good and bad are balanced out, the soul is usually somewhere half-way up the ladder. The implication of remarks and curses in other contexts was that a really evil man would be dragged right down the ladder into hell. Each time the phrase "God forgive him" is said by those

taking a share of _mnemosyna_ distributions the soul goes up one step. Therefore as many people as possible should take a share. Children's prayers are thought to be more effective than those of adults because they are less sinful. They are encouraged to take the sweets offered at the _mnemosyna_, and a bowl of _kolyva_ is sent along for the eighty pupils at the school if the _mnemosyno_ takes place on a weekday.

Making kolyva

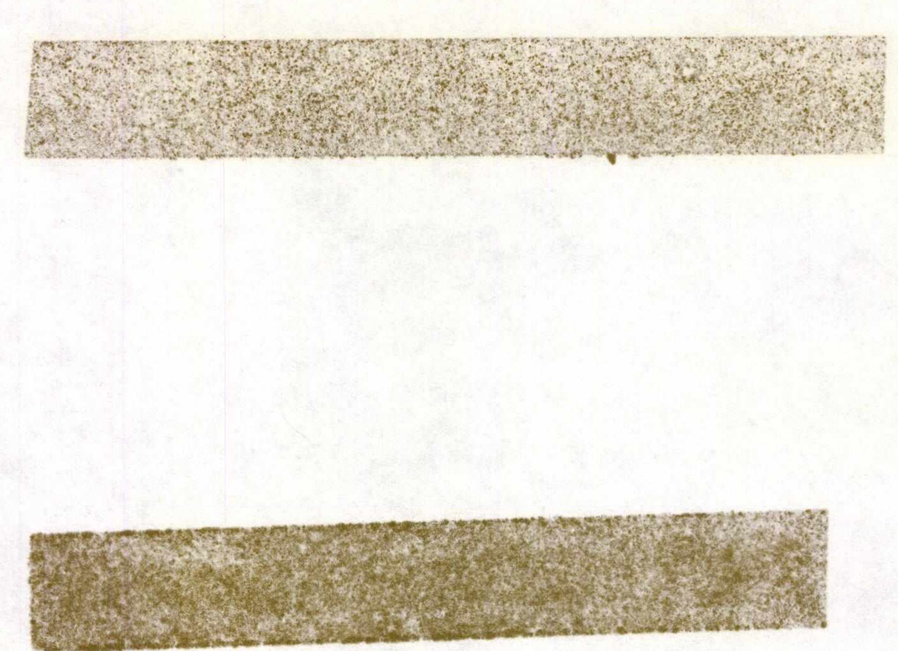
Kolyva is made by boiling grains of wheat which are strained into a colander or bowl. The woman who makes it censes it with a small pottery censer taken from the household ikon shelf. A candle is put in the centre of the mound of grains, and water is sprinkled in the sign of the cross. This is "water for the soul". The woman then addresses those whom she is commemorating saying "Mercy on your souls" - _eleos stin psychi sas_. She then adds pomegranate seeds, almonds, currants and shredded parsley leaves.

If the _kolyva_ is to be added to other bowlfuls for blessing in one of the communal ceremonies on a _Psychosavatto_ (Soul Saturday), it is simply decorated with a cross-shape in currants and almonds. The woman takes it to church and tips it into a basket beside the altar screen with the other _kolyva_, and puts the candle at the side of

the basket. If it is to be blessed individually for a mnemosyno for a particular person, it is covered with sugar and elaborately decorated with sugared almonds, the initials of the dead person, and a white silver-edged cross which can be used again. The plate is put on a table in the centre of the church, flanked by candles in holders draped with purple cloth. A photograph of the deceased is set up against the plate.

Psychosavatto

The kolyva which is blessed on Soul Saturdays and shared out after the Sunday morning Liturgy is to commemorate the souls of all the recent dead. Soul Saturdays are moveable feasts depending on the date of Easter. A Psychosavatto for the souls of dead priests is held two weeks before Lent begins. On Anaphi this occasion concerns only two island women whose fathers were priests. The Saturday before the beginning of Lent is for commemorating the souls of the laity. All island families with recent dead make kolyva for this psychosavatto. The kolyva is taken to the church on the Saturday evening when the basket is censed and blessed, the candles in the basket lit, and the names of those commemorated read out by the Abbot. Forty-eight days after Easter, on the eve of the Feast of Pentecost, a third psychosavatto takes place. The islanders say that between Easter and Pentecost all souls in Purgatory



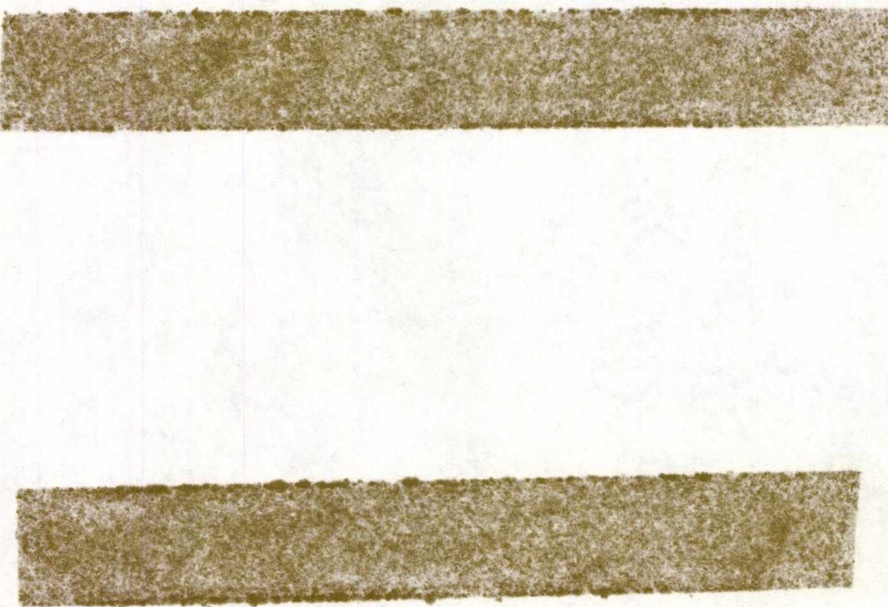


Figure Eight

(a) *Mnemosyna* Distributions outside the Church

(b) *Mnemosyna* Distributions in the Village Square

or hell are "freed" on the request of the Panayia, the All-Holy One, the Virgin Mary. After Pentecost "they go back to where they belong". This seems inconsistent with their view of the "suspended" state of the soul in the three-year period after death, but I could get no more information about this point. The psychosavatto before Pentecost took place in 1967 on June 16th, during the harvesting of the wheat crop. Many families busy with the harvest gave platefuls of grain to neighbours and others known to be making kolyva, who prepared it with their own and gave the appropriate names to the Abbot.

The distribution of mnemosyno sweets and liqueurs which occurs on the afternoon of Easter Sunday is also a communal ceremony for the souls of those who died within the previous three years. No kolyva is made, but each family takes sweets, cheese and other delicacies to be shared among the congregation as they leave the church.* The islanders said that this distribution marked the point at which souls were "freed" for a fifty-day period. The implication was that souls were released from punishment but not that they haunted, or were closer to, their descendants.

The memorial services and distribution of kolyva which takes place three, six, nine and forty days after a death are usually on the exact day. I was told that it was an island custom for close male relatives of a dead person

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* See Figure Eight, (a) and (b) facing.

to remain unshaven for forty days after the death. The post-office clerk said that his job prevented him from observing this custom when his father died, but commented that his mother was very annoyed at his apparent disrespect. I never saw any islander or émigré who appeared to be observing this custom, but there is evidence from other contexts (such as the behaviour of the political prisoners in the summer of 1968) that remaining unshaven was a sign of mourning and protest.

The services held three, six and nine months later, and the first and third anniversary <u>mnemosyna</u> are often delayed. If the children of the dead person have arranged to take it in turns to provide the <u>kolyva</u>, candles and delicacies for distribution, the later <u>mnemosyna</u> are held when those of them who live in Athens come to the island for the summer, bringing with them elaborate decorations, white candles and special sweetmeats from the city to discharge their obligation. Émigrés also bring <u>mnemosyna</u> goods for their siblings to use so that the memorial service they provide will not be adversely compared with others given by émigrés or by other villagers.

For organizational and possibly competitive reasons many <u>mnemosyna</u> take place during the summer months, particularly around the time of the monastery festival, September 8th, when the largest number of émigrés are on the island.

The islanders said that as many children as possible of a dead person should be present at the exhumation, and so the final ceremony which should take place at the end of the third year after the death is often delayed until all the siblings can attend together. For example, the bones of an old man were exhumed in September 1966, five years after his death, when one of his sons returned from America. The islanders explain the flexible dates of holding later mnemosyna by such reasons, and hint at the element of competition in providing many varied and new types of sweets and liqueurs at the distribution by commenting that "it won't do" (then kani) just to offer the island sweets made with honey, or the rough spirit, tsikouthya, distilled from trodden grapes. One woman commented, "who would say 'God forgive him' if they were offered an old biscuit and a glass of tsikouthya?"

In his discussion of mnemosyna, Lawson (1909, repr. 1964) says that at the time he travelled in Greece (1898-1900) the peasant view was that the fortieth day was the last opportunity for enemies of the dead man to loose any curses and ill-will so that the body would decay. Kin and neighbours took part in the memorial feast to "forgive" the dead man, for if any curses they had put on him were not loosed, dissolution would be delayed and the dead man

might haunt the living, possibly as a vampire.* (p. 487). Memorial feasts were thus held "to induce those persons who were invited to the feast to forgive the dead man and to revoke any curses with which they had bound him."** (p.534). If this is so, it is clear that the _mnemosyna_, held at intervals of days from the death, had to take place on the exact day, whereas it was not vital that later _mnemosyna_, whose purpose appears to be more commemorative and to involve general rather than specific forgiveness, should take place at the exact monthly or yearly intervals.

Lawson also discusses the problem why if "ordinary funeral usage has had for its sole object the dissolution of the dead in the interests of the dead" (p.485), inhumation rather than cremation is the accepted means of achieving this end. He claims to find evidence for previous cremation practices in the current inhumation customs of leaving a lamp placed on the grave and one in the room where the death took place. My intention here is neither to support nor refute

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*The islanders did not express such a fear, but I heard talk of vampires in other contexts, usually threats to children.

**Lawson says that the making of _kolyva_ "is still understood to be a means of ministering to the bodily needs of the dead" (p.536). After the corpse has rotted and the bones are clean, the body is reunited with the soul on a different plane of existence, and no more thought or provision by the living is necessary.

these attempts to relate modern Greek religious practices and folklore beliefs to pre-Christian beliefs and practices. Nearly all of what Lawson reports, c. 1900, about funeral and _mnemosyna_ beliefs and practices can be paralleled from informants' accounts and observation on Anaphi.

An exhumation

During the summer months many memorial services and several exhumations take place. Often several individual _mnemosyna_ marking different monthly or yearly intervals after a death are held on the same Sunday.

At the service held in the main village church on Sunday, September 11th 1966, five plates of _kolyva_, elaborately decorated, were set on tables in front of the altar screen. After the Liturgy was ended the _kolyva_ was censed, blessed, and the Abbot took a handful from each plate before they were taken out to the church gate to be served to those leaving the building. _Loukoumi_, bread, honey, chocolates and liqueurs were also served. Two of the plates of _kolyva_ were for a six months' memorial service, but the others were to mark the end of the _mnemosyna_ cycle, the third and final anniversary of the death. After taking a share of the _kolyva_ and the sweets and liqueurs, the congregation set off towards the cemetery. As they passed the cafés one of the émigrés who was in charge of a _mnemosyno_ that day stepped out and said that everyone was

invited to have coffee in any of the cafés at his expense, "so that you may forgive him" (the dead man), before going on to the cemetery. Many of the women in the crowd refused to go into the cafés, but called out the appropriate phrase "God forgive him" as if they were sharing in this extended distribution.

At the ceremony the crowd gathered round one of the graves and the Abbot chipped a cross-shape into the whitewashed cement covering with a pick-axe. This was the grave of a man who had died five years before. His sons finished removing the cement, pulled up the coffin and broke it open. They wept as they worked, and their sisters stood at the graveside calling out "Why did you leave us? Speak to us! Father, why did you leave us alone?" Their husbands and the Abbot tried to restrain them and quieten their wailing.

While the first grave was being opened, the Abbot incised a cross on the surface of the second and third graves which were then opened up by the closest male kin. Around each grave stood relatives of the dead person, and other members of the crowd moved from one graveside to another, talking informally. The Abbot censed and prayed over the graves of the two whose six months' _mnemosyna_ had been celebrated. At one point, the daughter who was in charge of the final _mnemosyno_ for her mother, fainted as the coffin was opened. Women in the crowd hurried to

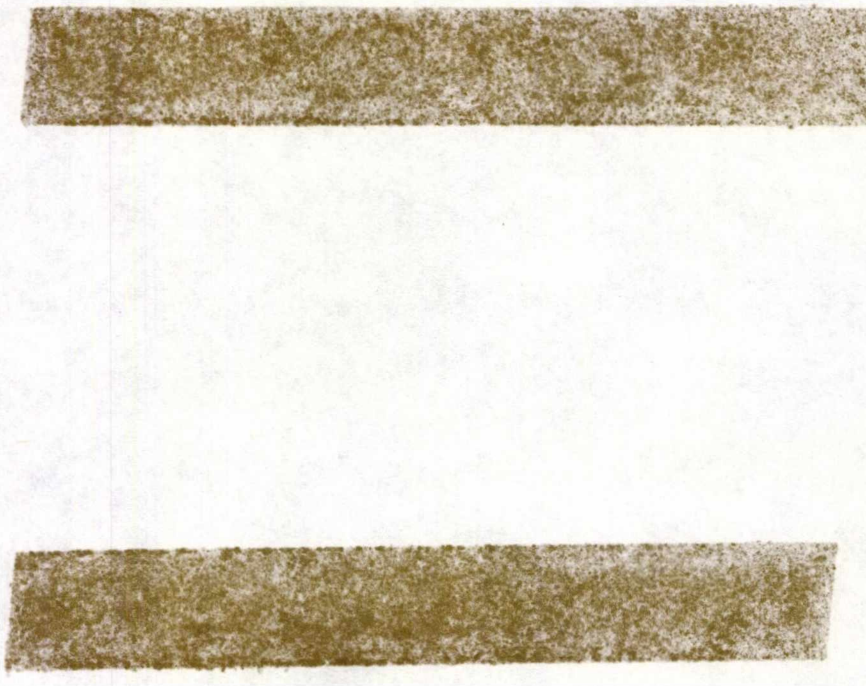

Figure Nine

Bone Depository to left of Chapel

help her, fanned her with handkerchiefs and tried to rally her spirits. One woman took the flask of wine she was still holding and poured the wine over the bones in the coffin so that they could be removed and wrapped up in a white sheet with a sprig of basil.

The three sets of bones were taken into the cemetery chapel where the Abbot censed them, lit candles beside them and said prayers. I was told that the bones could either be put in a shed beside the chapel, in a family vault, or in an ossuary (osteophylakeion) beside a chapel near fields associated with the dead person.* I was not present at any re-interment, but on several occasions on walks across the island my companion would turn aside to kneel beside an ossuary and kiss its surface, explaining that parents' and grandparents' bones were there.

Ritual and property relationships

In this chapter I have tried to weave together two themes. One is the importance of koumbaria in establishing the family-household and in establishing an individual as a social being. The other theme is the connection between property ownership and the obligations to the souls of those from whom the property came. Usually the acquisition of property and the carrying-out of services for the souls of the dead takes place between the three generations of

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*See Figure Nine, facing.

family-households linked by kinship, that is between individuals, their parents and grandparents.

The two themes are woven together because there are strong links on Anaphi between ritual and property relationships. Property is passed on from a godparent to a godchild who has the obligation to perform the funeral and memorial services for the godparent in return for the property, just as he would for a physical parent.

The childless or unmarried person who becomes a godparent takes on the duties of a parent (the duty to provide property) and acquires the rights of a parent (the right to funeral and memorial services). The godchild acquires the right to property and the obligation to perform the ceremonies for the good of the soul. This relationship, which I have called a ritual relationship, and which is called by other anthropologists and sociologists a relationship of fictive, pseudo- or quasi-kinship, is clearly modelled on the parent-child relationship involving rights and duties concerning property and church rituals. The ritual relationship between godparent and godchild, and the godchild's physical parents, is backed by very strong sanctions, for the godparent makes the child a _Christianos_ and thus makes him a social being in the full sense: a human being, a Greek, a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, and a member of the Anaphiot community

with a name which is linked to previous generations of islanders.

Relationships with koumbari show the same recognition of moral rights and duties, combined with calculations of self-interest, as is exhibited in kinship relationships. The relationship is different in that most koumbari are chosen; both sides enter the relationship voluntarily. The moral component is thus more explicit and hence more manipulable than in ordinary kinship ties. Koumbaros relationships are thus explicitly and implicitly similar to relationships between members of the same family-household. "The idiom of family" is used in behaviour and in expectations of and evaluations of actions between koumbari. Koumbaria uses the idiom of family behaviour to resolve the conflict between the ideal of family independence and the necessity for ties outside the family in order to maintain it.

CONCLUSION

As I indicated in Chapter One, the main aim of my fieldwork on Anaphi was to collect ethnographic data which would fill a gap in Greek and Mediterranean anthropology and would provide comparative material to set alongside existing studies.

This thesis contains a description of the social organization of Anaphi; it is an ethnographic account in a more or less traditional monograph style. Some parts of the account, such as the chapter on Political Activity are general rather than detailed in exposition. This is because of the difficulty of getting information about certain areas of social life, especially political thought and activity, and because of increased suspicion and wariness in such matters after the military coup of April 1967. The chapter on Migration lacks detailed data for the same two reasons. Also, as fieldwork continued, I became convinced that although an understanding of permanent and seasonal migration and of the island's links with the émigré community was vital for a study of the internal social organization of Anaphi, these topics required a separate and detailed study in their own right.

These chapters excepted, the ethnography of Anaphi provides some points of similarity and contrast in comparison

with Campbell's Sarakatsan material and Friedl's data on Vasilika. A comparison of, for example, the domestic cycle and the division of the parental estate among Sarakatsan shepherds, Vasilikan villagers and Anaphiot islanders indicates a number of patterns of variables suggesting problems for future study.

First of all, in each case dowry is considered to be a daughter's share of her parents' joint estate to which all their children have equal rights. In Vasilika "dowries are . . . calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband" (Friedl, 1962, p.48). The value of the estate is calculated in terms of _lires_, gold sovereigns, and the girl's share is also expressed as _lires_ although it may take the form of land, cash, or both. As a girl goes from Vasilika to another village, such as Kifisokhori to live with her husband (usually in a room in his parents' house), the husband has to journey to her dowry lands in Vasilika in order to work them. He hopes eventually to exchange the land for land near his own village, negotiating with a man from Vasilika who has married a girl from Kifisokhori and has dowry lands there.

Among the Sarakatsani "the corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money and goods from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive

their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage". The dowry takes the form of "the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of fifty sheep" (Campbell 1964, p. 44). Since 1945 the dowry also tends to include forty sheep or their equivalent in lires. A bride goes to live with her husband in his parents' hut. Her dowry is thought to balance her husband's expected share of the joint estate of his parents.

Thus, both in Vasilika and among the Sarakatsani, a girl's dowry is seen as an equal share of her natal family estate, and as a contribution to the marital family estate. In both cases the dowry consists basically of trousseau goods and, in addition, property (or its cash equivalent) which is the essential economic base of life in the community - land in Vasilika, flocks for the Sarakatsani. On Anaphi, too, a girl's dowry is considered to be her equal share of the natal family estate and to be her contribution to the new household, equal in value to the land expected by the husband as his share of his family estate. However, the bride does not move from her parents' house to her husband's parents' house; both bride and groom leave their respective parental homes and set up together in the house which is the bride's dowry. Trousseau goods

are important, land is desirable, but it is the house itself which is the essential element of the dowry.

Age at marriage seems to form another variable: Friedl mentions that village couples marry in their early twenties, but that daughters of prosperous farmers tend to marry "late, i.e. between twenty-five and thirty" (in ed. Pitt-Rivers 1963, 122) and that the husbands of these girls "are correspondingly older" (<u>ibid</u>., p. 129). This data indicates general trends but lacks detail for full comparison. It is also difficult to work out the average age difference between husband and wife.

Among the Sarakatsani "generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their midtwenties" (Campbell 1964, p. 82). A husband thus tends to be at least six years older than his wife.

On Anaphi the average age of marriage is, by implication, about twenty-six to twenty-seven years for men and twenty-two to twenty-four years old for women. On average a man is about four years older than his wife. There is no insistence that an Anaphiot man must wait to marry, like a Sarakatsani man, until his sisters are married, and their honour is now their husband's concern. Delay in marriage on Anaphi is usually on the girl's side in order for the

dowry house to be repaired, bought or built, and for the trousseau goods to be completed. Just so in Vasilika, dowries for girls who are to marry town men take longer to accumulate if land resources are not to be too greatly depleted, and so they and their husbands are older at marriage than the average Vasilikan couple.

The division of the family estate takes different forms and takes place at different points in the domestic cycle in the three communities. In Vasilika, after the father's death, married brothers run a joint household and joint estate "until they decide to separate and divide the patrimony" (Friedl 1962, p. 59). It is not clear how long after the father's death this usually happens. This patrimony consists of the dead father's lands and the mother's property given to her by her parents. If new houses have to be built for some brothers the cost is borne by the patrimony. The sisters have, of course, already taken their shares at marriage, so the patrimony is now parcelled into equal shares and assigned by lot to the brothers. A little extra land goes to the brother with whom the widowed mother chooses to live. Each brother sets up an independent household with an estate made up of his share of his patrimony and his wife's dowry. The new household dates from the time the patrimony is divided, when most brothers have been married several years and have

children.

Among the Sarakatsani, brothers also form an extended family, working a common flock. This corporate unit may survive as long as ten years; individual brothers may split off one by one, taking one share from the joint property, or the final division may take place between all the brothers "one or two years after the youngest has married" (Campbell 1964, p. 59). The division results from "the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers" (_ibid_., p. 71), and is pressed for by each brother when "the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt" (_ibid_., p. 71). New dwellings are built and furnished from the common treasury, then animals from each category are assigned to each brother in rotation, or by lot. The youngest son gets an extra half share for each surviving parent for whom it is his duty to care. When a man leaves the group he usually takes about 100 sheep and goats as his share. His wife's dowry was equivalent to between 50 and 90 animals so "there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin" (_ibid_., p. 44). A new household is thus set up when a man may have school-age children and be about forty years old. By the time he is sixty, his sons will be about to take

over the management of the family flocks until, about ten years later, they divide the patrimony and set up individually.

Another pattern in a village on the Gulf of Corinth, 6 kms from Aigion, (Bialor 1968, p. 112) is that sons receive their share of the patrimony when they marry, just as daughters take their share as dowry. Parents retain land for their own use and this land is divided equally among all the children when both parents die.

As we have seen, the domestic cycle on Anaphi is very different. The new household is established at marriage and enriched later by the husband's share of the patrimony. This is an equal share whose contents are not decided by random allocation or by lot (unless the parent dies intestate) but by the father's decision and by the son's right to particular parts of the estate "because of the name". The house which is the essential part of a girl's dowry is, especially if she is the eldest daughter, hers "because of the name". It is ideally the house of her mother's mother, for whom she was named, and ideally she should pass it on to her eldest daughter, her mother's namesake, who will pass it on to her eldest daughter, her own namesake. This pattern of rights to land and rights to houses "because of the name" is an ideal pattern. It is recognized by the islanders to be

an ideal and it is conformed to in varying degrees which are also laid down by custom. It is a pattern on which circumstances may force them to improvise variations. But the ideal, land passed on through a line of men, and houses passed on through a line of women, is an explicit one. Friedl says "in Vasilika . . . there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands" (Friedl 1962, p. 64). The ideas and values about property and inheritance in these two communities seem, on this evidence, to be very different indeed.

Comparative data on the significance of names is scanty. Friedl gives none, Campbell gives a little. He tantalisingly tells us "it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents (my emphasis) or perhaps after the Saint on whose day the Baptism occurs" (Campbell 1964, p. 220). Clearly as the Sarakatsani have no fixed or long-lasting property it is unlikely that there would be a pattern of rights to property because of names, but there does seem to be an idea similar to that on Anaphi of personal immortality through descendants who will carry one's name. "A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard', not simply

the surname which is inherited patrilineally but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis" (ibid., p. 56).

Bialor (1968) in his discussion of conflicts in the Northern Peloponnesian village of Vergadi gives some data on naming which implies that the eldest son is named after the father's father and the eldest daughter for the father's mother: "kinship is ego-oriented and bilaterally reckoned with no strong preferences distinguishing paternal from maternal kin. The paternal line is favoured in the inheritance of the family name (with consequently the preservation of the paternal name line, once socially significant as the soi), in the naming of first children of both sexes, and in the bias for a male to inherit the paternal house" (op. cit., p. 111). This may well be similar to the naming pattern described by Tavuchis (1969). "In general, the cultural rules call for the naming of the first son after the paternal grandfather, the first daughter after the paternal grandmother, the second son after the maternal grandfather, and the second daughter after the maternal grandmother. The sequence is not inflexible, however, and under certain conditions, e.g., a run of children of the same sex, local customs that might stress the patriline, or the personal characteristics of prospective namesakes, deviations from the rules

do occur" (Tavuchis 1969, p. 5).

Before a thorough analysis and comparison of data on naming can be undertaken, there is need for greater detail in existing reports on patterns of naming, and for material from other parts of Greece.

This thesis it clearly not just a descriptive ethnography. The account of Anaphiot social organization is shaped by what I think are the principles of Anaphiot social structure. The analysis of the elements making up these principles is the theoretical backbone of the thesis. The connection on Anaphi between naming, rights to property, and obligations to the souls of the dead suggests that it might be fruitful to look for similar and variant patterns in other Greek and Mediterranean data.

These are a few themes which emerge from a comparison of Anaphiot material with other data from Greece. It is perhaps worth adding that in terms of ethnographies dealing with areas and kinds of areas, the next task is clearly to make a study of the area to which all the ethnographies so far point, that is, the main urban centres, Athens - Piraeus and Salonika. It is now clear that a significant part of the Greek villagers' total environment is his awareness of and links with the distant metropolis. The spokes of the wheel have been delineated; it is time that the hub was examined. Are Athens - Piraeus and Salonika cities or

little more than complexes of urban villages? Do their émigré communities form together a horizontal layer at the bottom of the power structure or do they penetrate, however narrowly, to the top? These are some of the questions that an urban ethnography might ask.

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DEMOGRAPHIC APPENDIX

Demographic data on the island population are taken from the register (<u>demotoloyon</u>) of the <u>kinotis</u> Anaphi, kept by the village secretary. This register lists members of island families with voting rights on the island through right of birth or residence, whether or not they are still resident. When a migrant changes his registration to another district, usually a suburb of Athens, this is noted beside the entry of his name and it is taken off the list of island-registered voters.

The information relevant to the r esident population is extracted from this voting register. The earliest entry in the copy of the <u>demotoloyon</u> made available to me by the village secretary concerns a family in which the parents were born in the 1870's and the eldest child wss born in the first decade of this century. The data thus extends as far back as the grandparents, and in some cases the great-grandparents of contemporary island families.

From these data I have compiled graphs and tables to illustrate generalizations and support inferences about the island population, such as age and sex composition of the r esident population, age at marriage, family size, and the number and sex of migrating children per family. Additional information given in the register, such as the village secretary's assessment of each household's economic

status, has also been tabulated in the text (e.g. Figure Six, facing p. 168).

FIGURE TEN

Household Composition

	Within Village	Outside Village	Totals
Nuclear Family-Households:			
Couples with children	66	3	69
Couples with married children ..	15	1	16
Childless couples	6	-	6
	87	4	91
Single Person Households:			
Spinsters	3	1	4
Bachelors	5	2	7
Widowers	3	-	3
Widows	14	1	15
	25	4	29
Fragmented Households:			
Widows with young children.. ..	3	-	3
Widows with unmarried kin	1	1	2
	4	1	5
Totals	116	9	125

Figure Ten: Household Composition

Data from the voting register and from my own observations are presented to show the composition and location of island households.

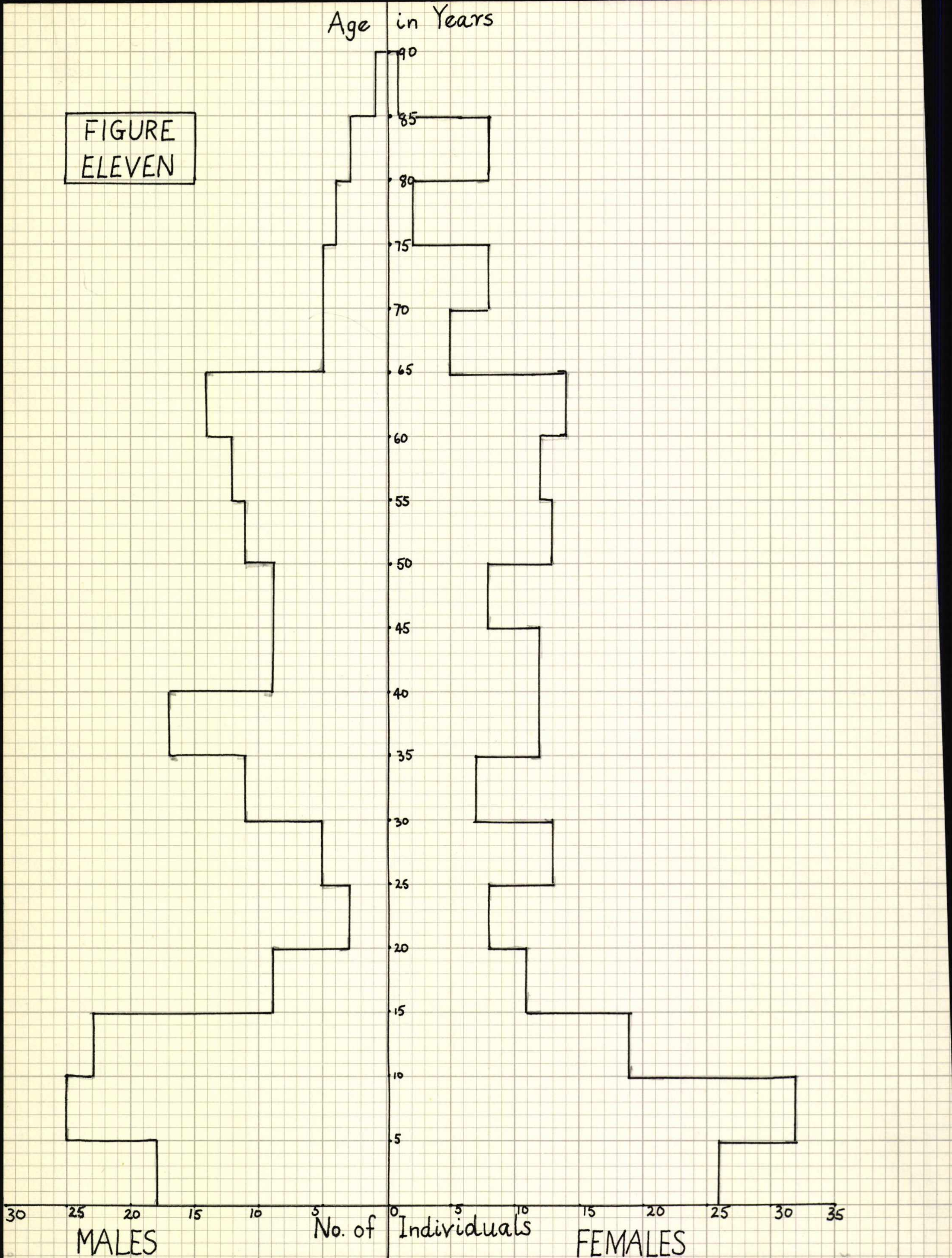


FIGURE ELEVEN
Age in Years
90
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
30 25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
MALES
No. of Individuals
FEMALES

Figure Eleven: Composition of the resident population, January 1967

Data on the age composition of the Anaphiot population is presented to show the numbers of males and females in each five-year age group between 1 - 91 years old.

Some speculative interpretations of the pattern of age distribution can be made on the basis of field material. The drop in the number of males after 11 years of age represents the migration of boys after leaving the village primary school; the lowest point in the trough for males occurs at the age of military service; the upswing of the curve reflects the number who return to the island after two years in the army, rather than taking up jobs in Athens. The trough at the late forties - early fifties age group perhaps reflects losses in the Second World War and civil war period.

The drop in the number of females over the age of eleven can also be interpreted in terms of migration to Athens. The weighting of various factors such as birth and death rates over the past sixty years, war losses, incidence of migration and return, is almost impossible on such limited data.

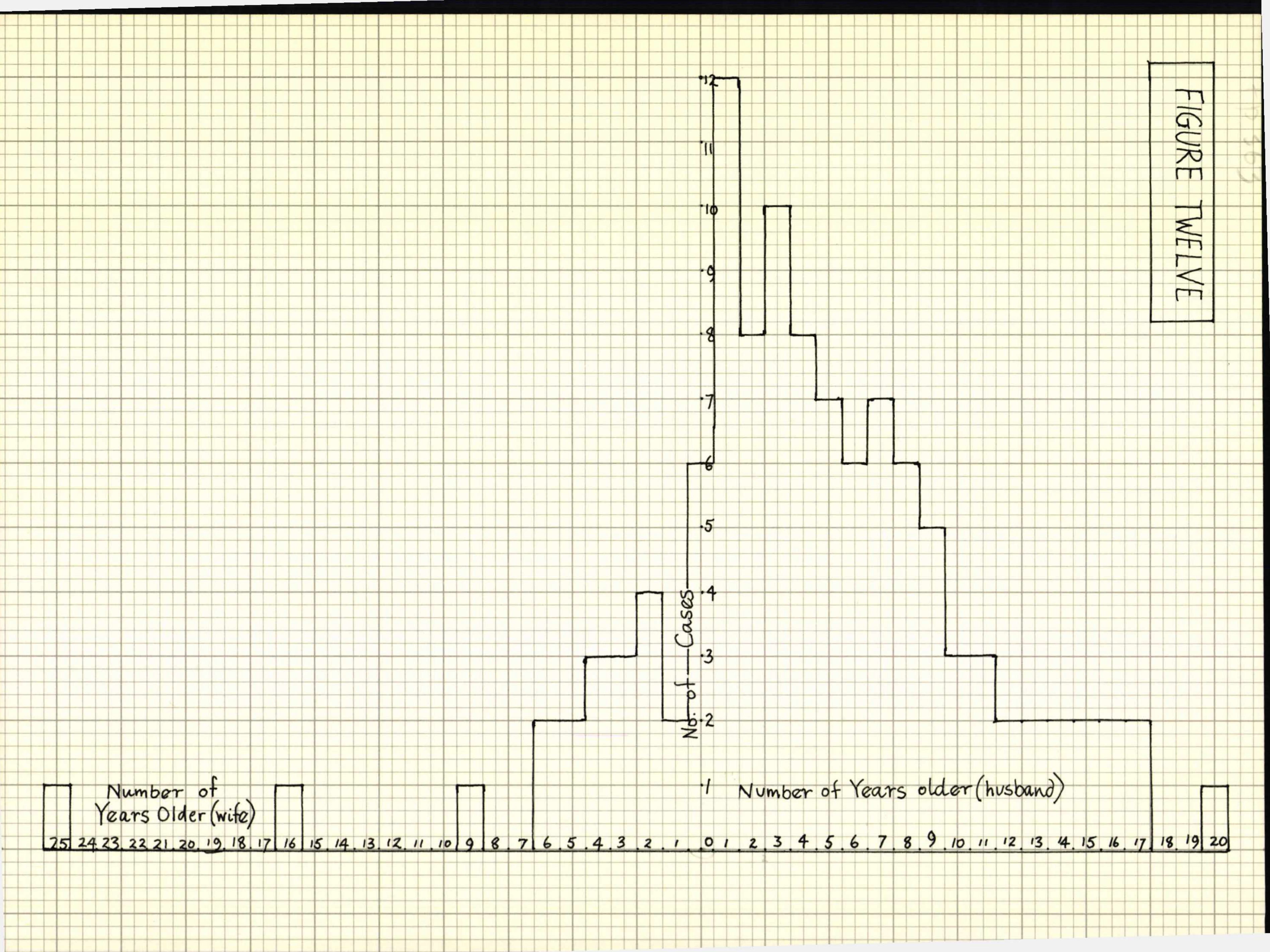


FIGURE TWELVE

Figure Twelve: Comparative Ages of Husband and Wife

Figure Twelve uses data from 109 marriages between 1915 and 1966 to show the range of comparative ages of married men and women. In 84 cases the husband is older than his wife; in nineteen cases the wife is older than her husband; in six cases the spouses are the same age.

The range in age difference for husbands older than wives reaches up to twenty years older, but in three-quarters of the cases the range is from 1-9 years older. The mode is for the husband to be one year older, the median 4.5 years older, and the mean 5.9 years older.

The range for wives reaches up to twenty-five years older, but sixteen of the nineteen cases fall within the range 1-6 years older. The mode in this group is for the wife to be two years older, the median 3.2 years and the mean 5.4 years older.

The common pattern in marriages appears to be that the husband is on average six years older than his wife. The cases of interest are those which fall outside the usual range of variation in each group. They are so clearly exceptional as to highlight the general principles behind the majority of cases, and I shall comment briefly upon them.

Case A: Husband twenty years older

This man inherited house and lands from his parents,

presumably because his siblings left the island. He served a ten-years prison sentence for mitigated manslaughter - a knife fight with a rival over a woman - and on his return to the island married the youngest daughter of a large family who were pleased not to have to provide a dowry house. This family had little to lose by allying themselves with a man who, although he had lost his honour, had a fairly large estate.

Case B: Husband seventeen years older

This man is a remarried widower with one daughter by his first marriage. The family circumstances of his second wife are not known to me.

Case C: Husband sixteen years older

The husband is the village barber, the wife is sister to the dowryless bride in Case A. It is probable that this, too, is a case of a girl without dowry marrying an older man with house and lands of his own.

Case D: Wife twenty-five years older

No information could be obtained concerning the marriage of a shepherd with a woman twenty-five years older. I did not know this childless couple personally, and it was impossible to find out any other details.

Case E: Wife sixteen years older

This woman was thirty-seven and her husband twenty-one years old when their first child was born. She died

aged 78 in 1949. The man, nicknamed "orang-utan", now lives in the northern part of the island with a woman by whom he has had three children. Further details are given in Chapter Six.

Case F: Wife nine years older

The wife is the younger daughter in a family of four, and was in her early thirties when she married. Her own mother eloped, probably to avoid the delay in marriage until she could be provided with an adequate dowry. The elder sister also eloped, and was given a dowry house by the mother's parents. The younger daughter was bought a dowry house and has a small holding. The husband has no lands of his own, yet, as his parents are still alive and there are ten other children, including five girls, in his natal family. The couple work full-time for the village president. This woman's comparatively late age of marriage seems connected with her parents' difficulties in dowering their daughters when they had no dowry property to hand on.

FIGURE THIRTEEN

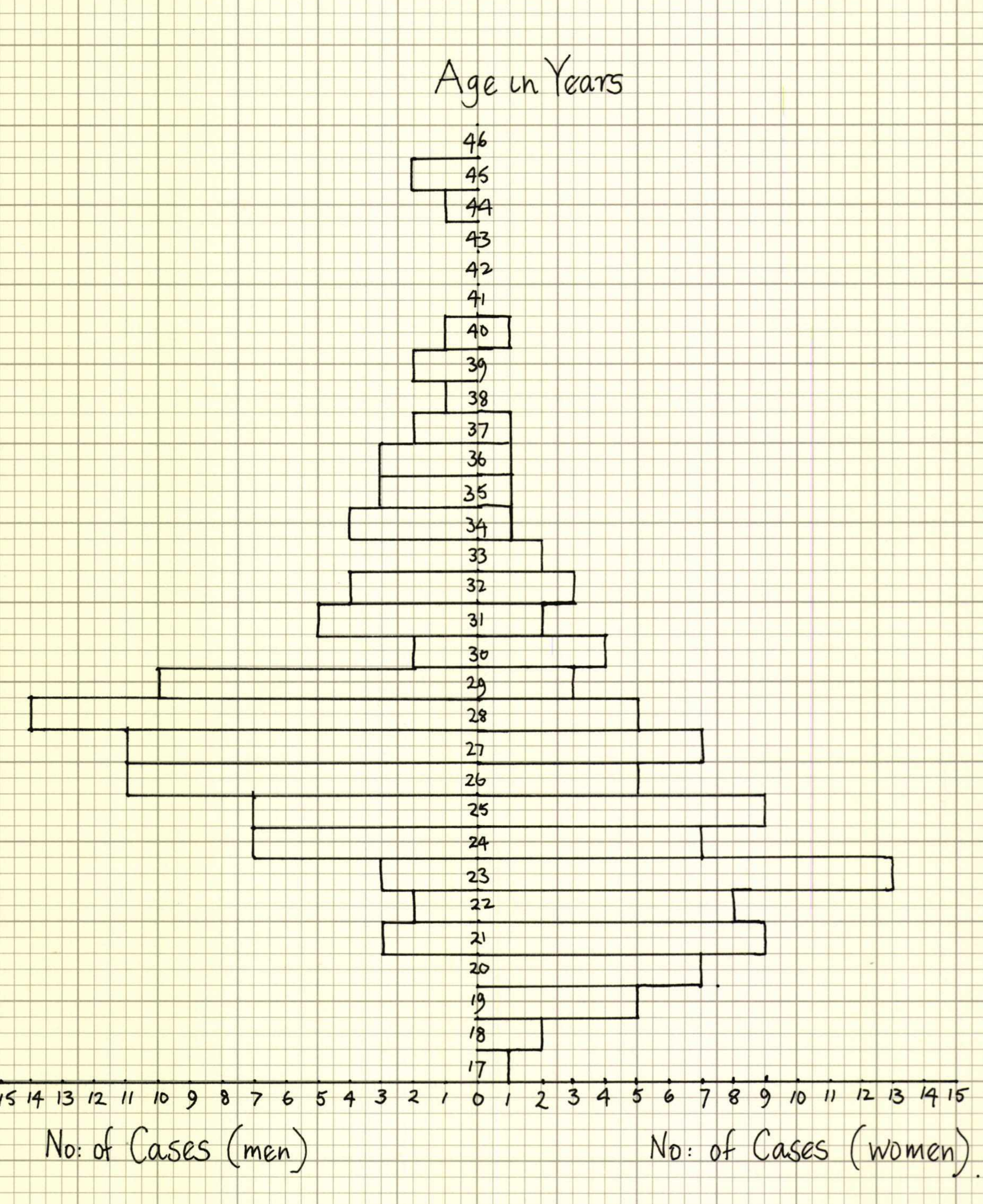


Figure Thirteen: Age of Husband and Wife at birth of first child.

I was not able to consult the church register for dates of weddings, and thus I have no data on the age of husbands and wives at marriage. Assuming that there is a period of about one year between marriage and the birth of the first child, I have tried to infer age at marriage from working out the age of each spouse when their first child was born. Figure Thirteen shows the pattern of age for married men and women at the date of birth of the first child. In a few entries in the register where the spouse was not an Anaphiot, the date of birth of the "stranger" spouse was missing, so that the ages of both spouses could not be determined. This accounts for the unequal number of males and females in the histogram.

The age range for women is between 17-40 years, the range for men lies between 21 and 45 years. It thus appears that the age at marriage is usually 22 - 24 years for women, and 26 - 27 years for men. On these findings a man tends to be between 2 and 5 years older than his wife, which fits in with the pattern of comparative ages shown in Figure Twelve.

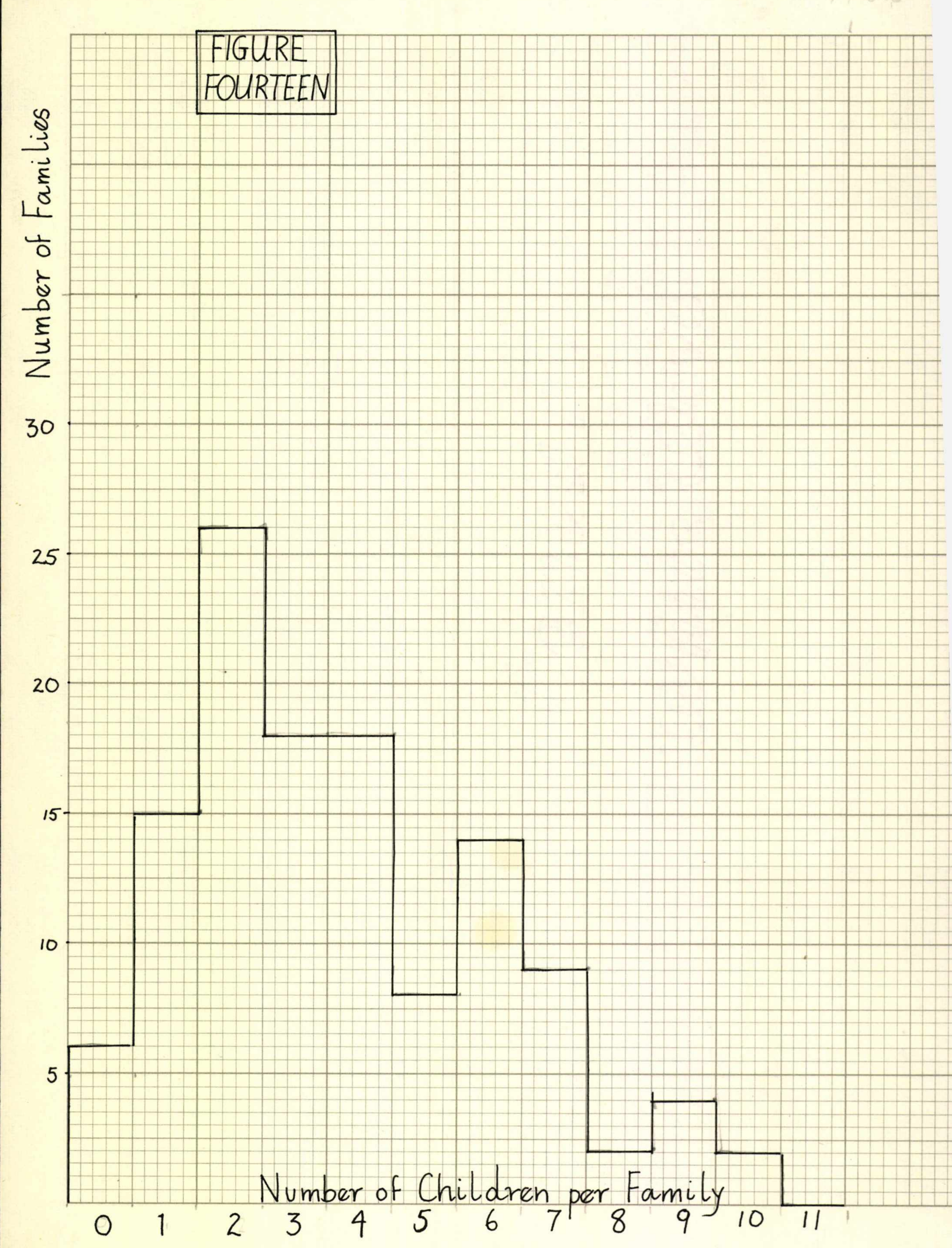


FIGURE FOURTEEN
Number of Families
30
25
20
15
10
5
Number of Children per Family
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11

Figure Fourteen: Number of children per family

It is known that some births were not entered in the register if the child died at birth or soon after. This histogram does not show all births in each family, but only those recorded, irrespective of later death or migration. Data are taken from families in which at least one partner was still alive and living on Anaphi at the time of fieldwork. The children's dates of birth range from 1906 to 1966.

The average number of children per family in this sample of 117 families is 3.9 children. The mode is two children, and the median 2.97. It can be seen that there are few cases of families with more than seven children; in fact the middle 50 per cent of the sample lies between 1.24 and 3.28 children per family.

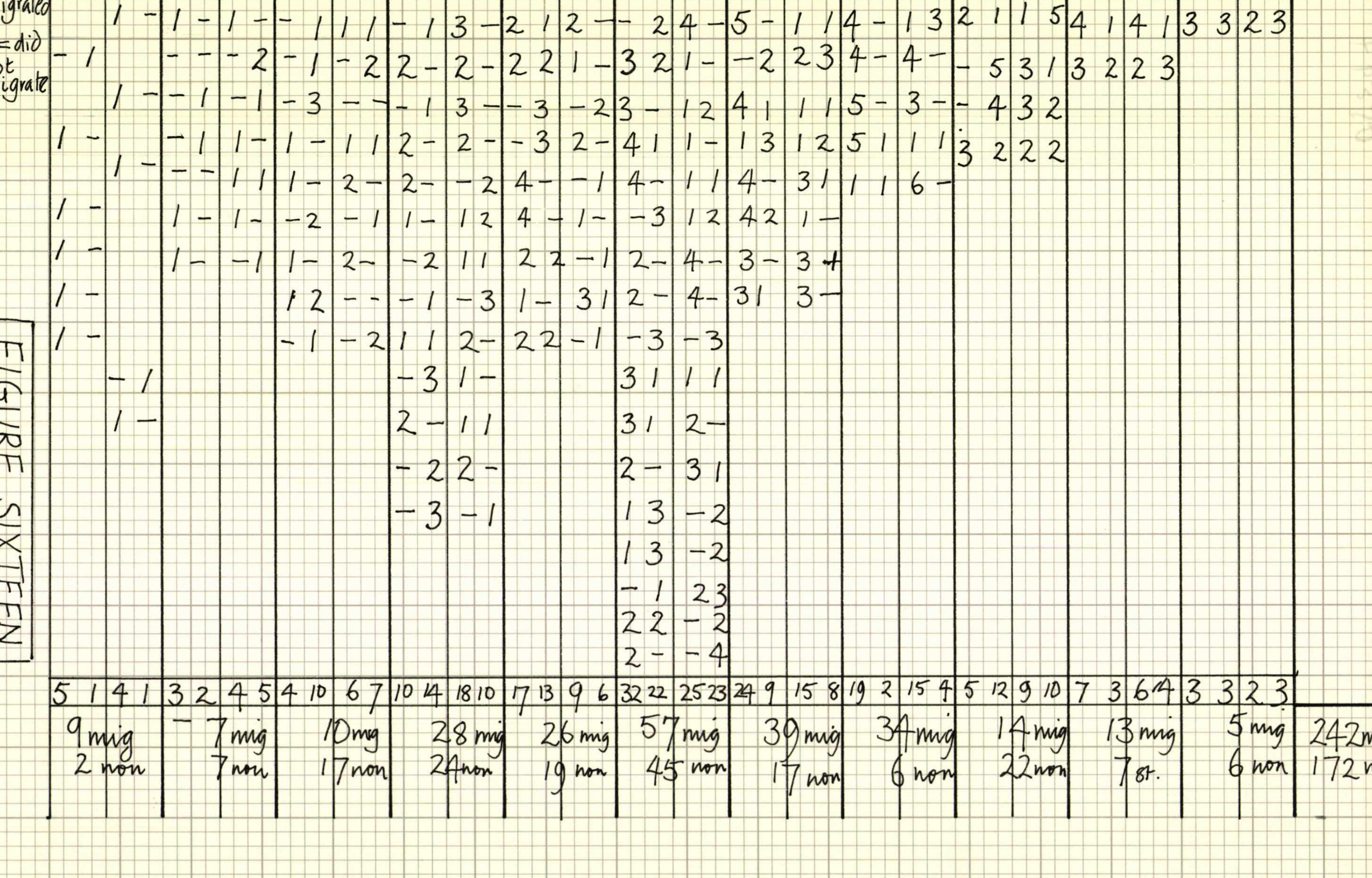
Figure Fifteen: Showing Family Size over Time.

The numbers in the body of the table denote the number of families with x children

Year of Birth of First Child	Number of Children in Family										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1906-10				1	1				1		
1911-15	1		1	2	1			1			
1916-20			2	1			3		1		
1921-25			1	1	1	2		1			
1926-30			3	1		2				2	
1931-35	1					4	1		1		1
1936-40		2			2	1	2				
1941-45	3	3	1	1		1	1		1		
1946-50		3	2	2	1	3	1				
1951-55		3	4	2		2					
1956-60	1	7	2	6		1					
1961-65	3	2									
1966--	1	1									

Figure Fifteen: Family size over the past sixty years

Figure Fifteen uses data on number of children per family combined with the year of birth of the first child in the family. This is to see if there is any significant change in the number of children per family over the past sixty years. There is some indication of a trend towards smaller families, but it is clear that in many of the families presented in the table, more births are to be expected. It is also reasonable to suppose from the islanders' comments on the advantages of having few children, and from evidence that natural, medicinal, and mechanical methods of birth control are used, that few of the present families will be as large as those of twenty and thirty years ago. Although the ideal number of children is said to be between two and four, the actual number depends on the sex of children born into a family. A couple who have children of the same sex will continue to try and have one of the other sex, particularly if there is land or a house which will be inherited by the child "because of the name". The ideal is to have two boys and two girls who will "resurrect" the names of their parents' parents.



No: of children in family; M = Migrated; n. = did not migrate

Row	1 ♂ M	1 ♂ n.	1 ♀ M	1 ♀ n	2 ♂ M	2 ♂ n	2 ♀ M	2 ♀ n	3 ♂ M	3 ♂ n	3 ♀ M	3 ♀ n	4 ♂ M	4 ♂ n	4 ♀ M	4 ♀ n
1			1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	3	-
2	-	1			-	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	2	-	2	-
3			1	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	3	-
4	1	-			-	1	1	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	2	-
5			1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	2	-	-	2
6	1	-			1	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	2
7	1	-			1	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	1	1
8	1	-							1	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
9	1	-							-	1	-	2	1	1	2	-
10			-	1									-	3	1	-
11			1	-									2	-	1	1
12													-	2	2	-
13													-	3	-	1
Totals	5	1	4	1	3	2	4	5	4	10	6	7	10	14	18	10
	9 mig		2 non		—	7 mig		7 non	10 mig		17 non		28 mig		24 non	

Row	5 ♂ M	5 ♂ n	5 ♀ M	5 ♀ n	6 ♂ M	6 ♂ n	6 ♀ M	6 ♀ n	7 ♂ M	7 ♂ n	7 ♀ M	7 ♀ n	8 ♂ M	8 ♂ n	8 ♀ M	8 ♀ n
1	2	1	2	-	-	2	4	-	5	-	1	1	4	-	1	3
2	2	2	1	-	3	2	1	-	-	2	2	3	4	-	4	-
3	-	3	-	2	3	-	1	2	4	1	1	1	5	-	3	-
4	-	3	2	-	4	1	1	-	1	3	1	2	5	1	1	1
5	4	-	-	1	4	-	1	1	4	-	3	1	1	1	6	-
6	4	-	1	-	-	3	1	2	4	2	1	-				
7	2	2	-	1	2	-	4	-	3	-	3	4				
8	1	-	3	1	2	-	4	-	3	1	3	-				
9	2	2	-	1	-	3	-	3								
10					3	1	1	1								
11					3	1	2	-								
12					2	-	3	1								
13					1	3	-	2								
14					1	3	-	2								
15					-	1	2	3								
16					2	2	-	2								
17					2	-	-	4								
Totals	17	13	9	6	32	22	25	23	24	9	15	8	19	2	15	4
	26 mig		19 non		57 mig		45 non		39 mig		17 non		34 mig		6 non	

Row	9 ♂ M	9 ♂ n	9 ♀ M	9 ♀ n	10 ♂ M	10 ♂ n	10 ♀ M	10 ♀ n	11 ♂ M	11 ♂ n	11 ♀ M	11 ♀ n	Totals
1	2	1	1	5	4	1	4	1	3	3	2	3	
2	-	5	3	1	3	2	2	3					
3	-	4	3	2									
4	3	2	2	2									
Totals	5	12	9	10	7	3	6	4	3	3	2	3	
	14 mig		22 non		13 mig		7 st.		5 mig		6 non		242 m… / 172 n…

FIGURE SIXTEEN

Figure Sixteen: Sex and number of migrant and non-migrant children per family

It has been noted that in order to conform with the naming system to bring their parents' names into the new marital family, a couple should have two children of each sex. The sample recorded in Figure Fourteen conforms very closely to this ideal of four children, with a mean of 3.9 children per family. If it is assumed that the stock of lands and houses on the island remains constant, it follows that half the children must emigrate to prevent extreme fragmentation of the parental estate in each generation.

To check this hypothesis, data were abstracted from the village register on all families in which the number of children who emigrated or remained on the island was known. This information is presented in Figure Sixteen; the earliest date of birth of children shown here is 1906.

It will be seen that the mean number of children per family in this sample is 4.8 and the mean number of emigrant children per family is 2.8. This strongly suggests that those children for whom no provision can be made on the island will be forced to emigrate. The figure for each sex, (mean 1.5 male children and 1.3 female children per family emigrated) support this, as each sex would be affected equally, males through land inheritance and females through provision of dowry houses.

These figures show only a general trend. It is difficult to explain why of the eleven cases of only children, nine emigrated and only two stayed. It would have been expected that these would be the cases with the greatest opportunities to acquire property by dowry or inheritance and thus to have an inducement to stay on the island. It may be in these cases that parents were able to give the only child better educational advantages (and two of the five only sons who migrated are known to have been to technical high school in Athens) or, in the case of only daughters, plots of land, flats or houses in Athens which made possible a marriage with a member of the émigré community.

It is tempting to regard the emigration of children surplus to the availability of land and houses as a structural feature of the island economy. Further study of the Anaphiot community in Athens is needed to see how much it provides an "open end" to the island economy.

KENT
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY

war memorial
Radio Mast
N
to cemetery
to harbour
Key to Village Plan
higher
lower
Steeply sloping ground
Rough sloping ground
Paths with steps
Rough paths
Walls linking houses and enclosing chicken runs, pig-sties, stables, etc.
Buildings, including courtyards. Thin lines mark internal walls.
Categories of use:
Occupied
Unoccupied
Private houses
Shops, cafés, etc.
Forges, mills, etc.
Public buildings (school, post office, police station etc.)
Churches + chapels
PLAN OF THE VILLAGE OF ANAPHI
Scale: 1" = approx. 40'
Based on an outline map by the Society for Exploration,
University College Aberystwyth, 1962.